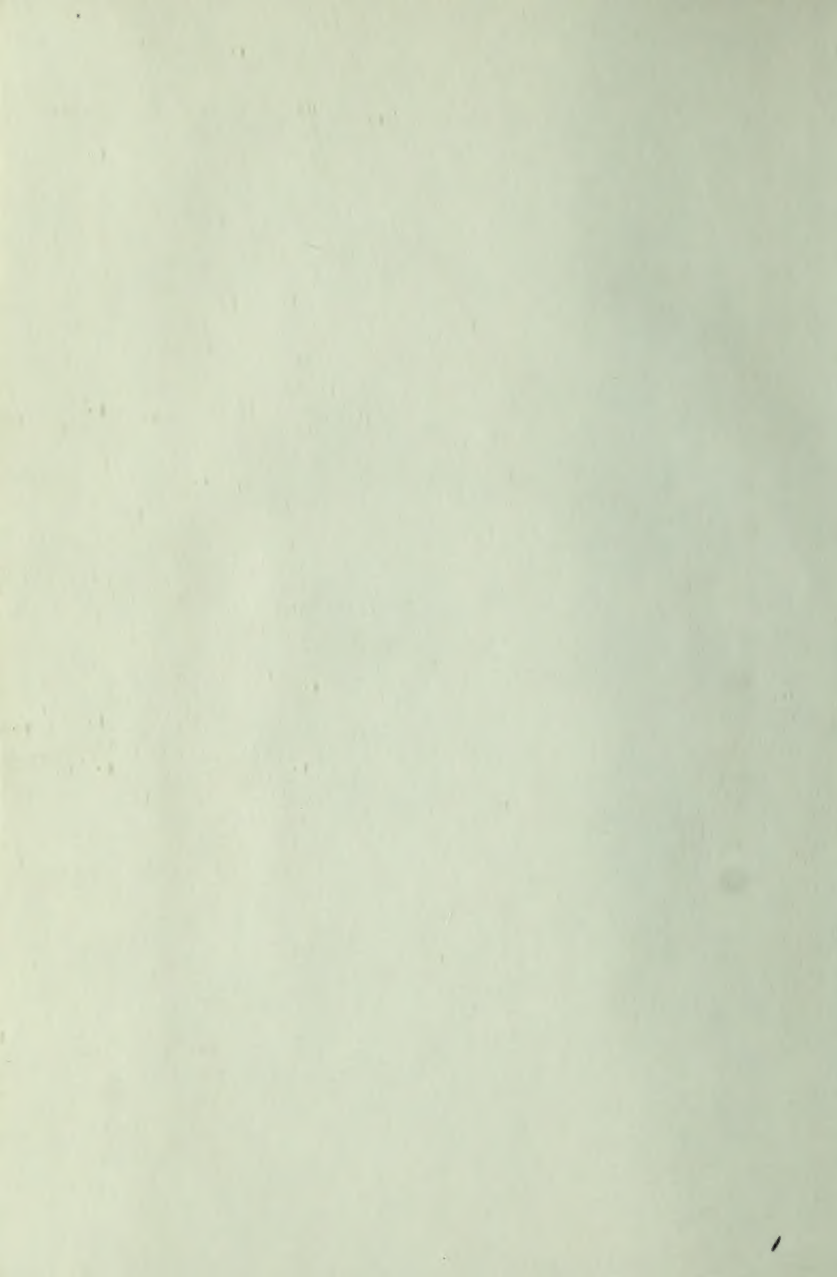


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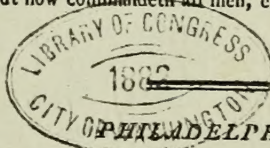
THE
BOOK
AND
SLAVERY
IRRECONCILABLE.

WITH
ANIMADVERSIONS
UPON
DR. SMITH'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY GEORGE BOURNE.


“I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your
rulers; and the times of this ignorance GOD winked at;
but now commandeth all men, every where, to repent.”

PETER and PAUL.



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SPIRIT OF THE LORD!

WHO DIDST ANOINT

JESUS

OF NAZARETH,

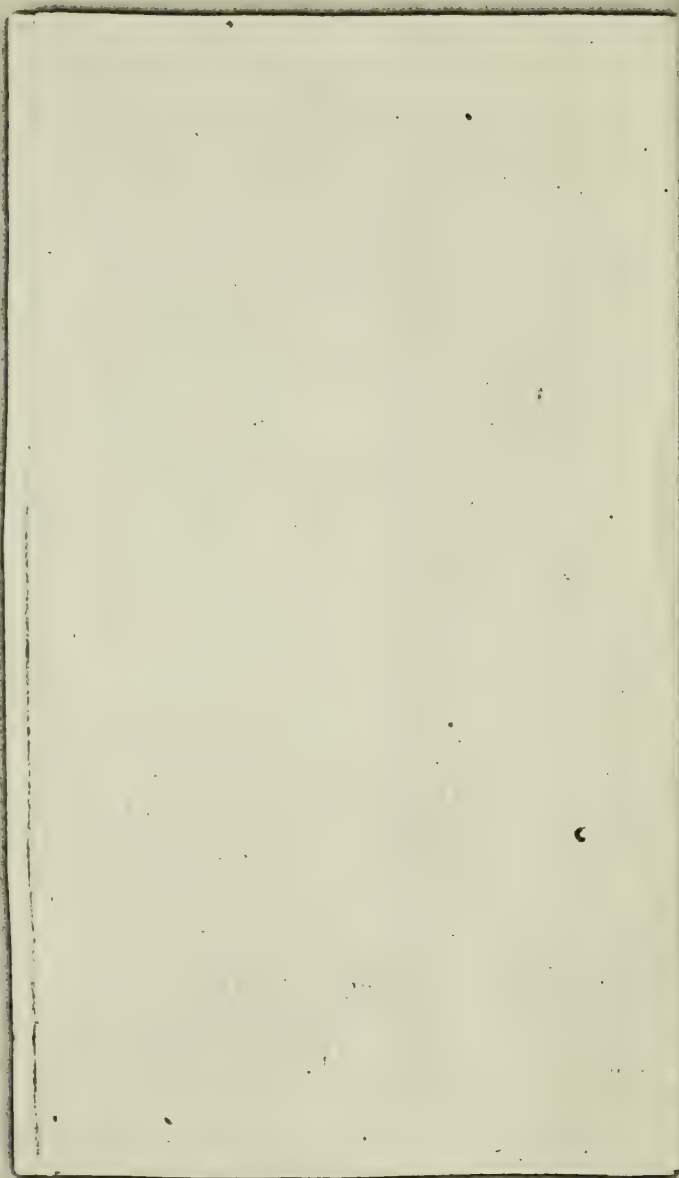
TO PREACH

DELIVERANCE

TO THE

CAPTIVES:

**O, ILLUMINE! O, REGENERATE! BLIND,
CORRUPT OPPRESSORS!**



INTRODUCTION.

EXAMINE the character of Religious Professors; ask, does consistency prevail? do men believe the word of God? and do they exhibit a conformity between their creed and their actions?

The Mosaic Law declares every Slave-holder a **THIEF**; Paul classes him among the highest criminals; the Presbyterian Confession of Faith asserts, that he is the most guilty of all thieves; the Methodist Discipline avows, that no man can have a sincere desire to "*flee from the wrath to come*," unless he refuses to enslave, buy and sell human flesh; "the supreme law of the land" formally pronounces that his practice is totally "irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity"; and the Bills of Rights promulge, that the immunities of man which are indispensable to the possession of life, the acquisition of property, and the enjoyment of happiness, are natural, inherent and inalienable. Therefore, every man who holds Slaves and who pretends to be a Christian or a Republican, is either an incurable Idiot who cannot distinguish good from evil, or an obdurate sinner who resolutely defies every social, moral, and divine requisition. Evangelical charity induces the hope that he is an ignoramus.

"Point to me the man,
 Who will not lift his voice against the trade
 In human souls and blood, and I pronounce,
 That he nor loves his country, nor his God.
 Is he a *Christian* then? who holds in bonds
 His brethren; cramps the vigour of their minds;
 Usurps entire dominion o'er their wills,
 Bars from their souls the light of moral day,
 The image of the great Eternal Spirit
 Obliterating thence? Before your God,
 Whose holy eye pervades the secret depths
 Of every heart, do you who hold inthrall'd
 Your fellow-being's liberty, believe
 That you are guiltless of a DAMNING CRIME?
 Be undeceived—and cleanse from guilt and blood
 Your crimson'd conscience, and polluted hands." *

But "it is better to be *moderate* in our opposition to Slavery; and not to make too strong an attack upon the Devil." Moderation against sin is an absurdity. Can any man conjoin stealing and honesty, or dare he admonish a headstrong transgressor partially to desist from his ungodly practices? Such sermonizing would be approved by every reprobate.

"They call themselves *moderate men*; but upon this subject, I neither feel, nor desire to feel, any thing like the sentiment of moderation. To talk of moderation upon this matter, reminds me of a passage in Middleton's Cicero. "*To enter a man's house, and kill him, his wife and family, in the night, is certainly a most heinous crime, and deserving of death. But to break open his house, to murder him, his wife, and all his children, in the night, may still be right, provided it is done with moderation.*" This is absurd—and yet it is not so absurd, as to say slavery may be carried on with moderation. For if you cannot break

*Daniel Bryan.

into a single house, if you cannot rob and murder a single man, with moderation ; with what moderation can you break up a whole country. can you pillage and destroy a whole nation ? Indeed, in an affair of this nature, I do not profess moderation ! It is a question of simple justice. Notwithstanding which, they plead that moderation in arranging robbery and murder may be very proper and useful." *

Our timidity is powerfully addressed, by the enumeration of the varied enmity which accompanies the declaration of truth unmitigated and unadulterated. No stronger evidence can be obtained, that a man's conscience is guilty and that his heart is corrupt, than when the faithful exposition of the BOOK excites his wrath. 1.

The denunciations of the sacred volume must not be mitigated : the predominance of vicious tempers and the consequent exhibition of unholy conduct are totally incompatible with the instructions and the example of Jesus of Nazareth and his Apostles ; a direct and incessant violation of the eighth commandment cannot be compounded with the rectitude

* *Charles James Fox.*

1. Reformation must be put at some distance to please. Its greatest favourers love it better in the abstract than in the substance. When any old prejudice of their own, or any interest that they value is touched, they become scrupulous, captious, and every man has his separate exception. Thus between the resistance of power, and the unsystematical process of popularity, the reformer is hissed off the stage, both by friends and foes." *Edmund Burke.*

which in 1811 and 1812, 2. 1811

which Christianity enjoins : the worst of all Thieves is not the most devout Believer : that internal chemistry which extracts the essential qualities of genuine religion, and then combines the *caput mortuum* with constant crime, that it may be palatable to an ignorant or careless conscience, must be opposed : and the complicated enormity of kidnapping, and the hypocrisy which he displays, who while he is a perpetual Thief, wishes to be honoured as a Christian ; who while he preaches and rules the Church, steals his neighbour, and dooms his Brother to a wretched and endless servitude :—must in plain Scriptural language be reprobated.

“Ye Gospel-Promulgators ! why so dumb
Upon this solemn theme, to which each ray
Of Revelation points ? And has the world
Such fascination, such corrupting power,
And vile intimidation’s force, as thus
To paralyze the energies divine
Of Satan’s combatants, that they will yield
To his blood-feasting hosts without one blow ?” *

These pages are published with no unchristian sensibilities. 2. But Gospel charity

* *Daniel Bryan.*

2. The Apostolic admonitions were recollected.

Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour ; for we are members one of another. Be ye angry and sin not : let not the sun go down upon your wrath : neither give place to the Devil. Let him that stole, steal no more : but rather let him labour, working with his hands that which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.
Ephesians 4. 25—29.

requires not, that we should believe a *lie* to be *truth*, or *injustice* to be *probity*, or that *he who stealeth his brother, makes merchandize of him, sells him or if he be found in his hand*, whom the Word of God proclaims to be a *Thief*, is an honest man and a *Christian*. Slavery is condemned; the uprightness of those pretences which Oppressors offer, why they should be considered Christians, is the subject of investigation; and the melioration of the Church and of our Country was both the motive which produced, and the object which was desired by this publication. The contest is for the sacred cause of Truth; and however severe it may be when individualized in its application, the sentiments are in full unison with the Holy Scriptures, and with every honest Man's unsophisticated convictions; therefore, to temporize would be criminal. "A rough truth is better than a smooth falsehood." That delinquent is peculiarly guilty in the judgment of the Book, *who calls evil good, bitter sweet, darkness light*, or who endeavours so to commingle them, that no difference is discernible between the requisitions of Religion and the solicitations of vice; and thus, while men pretend or really desire to fulfil the divine injunctions, they are numbered among the Transgressors.

No desire is felt to propitiate Professing Christians, while they steal "souls and hands." Their guilt against God and Man who hold Slaves in Columbia, is exactly equal

with his criminality, who sails to Congo, and kidnaps a cargo of Negros : and it is altogether a burlesque upon every thing sacred for a *Man-robber* to pretend to Christianity ; and far more dishonourable and injurious to the Church, to permit him to preach, and rule in the spiritual affairs of immortals.

Many persons to whom the severest censures apply as Slave-holders, possess other estimable qualities ; but can that man be a *Christian* who enslaves his coloured neighbour, who unmercifully whips her, although far advanced in pregnancy, who gives her no comfort of any species for her services, and then sells her with her offspring for an increased price, on account of the children whom he had kidnapped ? Such men would immure their *Fellow-citizens* in bondage, and ingulf them in similar misery. He who admits not, that this is the real nature and operation of innate depravity, has never *known the plague of his own heart*, and is not a penitent re-deemed sinner.

The most obdurate adherents of Slavery are Preachers of the Gospel and Officers and Members of the church. A Son of Belial is easily convinced ; he offers no palliative ; he denounces, although he perpetuates the evil ; but conceiving himself absolved from all moral obligation, he is desirous to participate in the gain as long as it can be grasped : but Christians defend *Negro-stealing* ; they marshal the ex-

amples of men who lived not under the moral code dispensed by Moses ; they misinterpret varied regulations of his law, and thereby transform truth into error, and the dictates of justice into the vilest improbity ; they claim the silence of our Lord and his Apostles and Evangelists, as a proof that Slave-holders then were *innocent* ; and they affirm that no New Testament command or denunciation is directed against involuntary servitude. 3. *These wrest the scriptures unto their own destruction ; being led away with the error of the wicked.** To tolerate Slavery or to join in its practice is an insufferable crime which tarnishes every other good quality. For *whosoever shall keep the law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all :*† and it is duplicate malignity ; the word of God is transmuted into indulgence for sin ; infidels and worldlings are encouraged to believe that Christianity is a mere deception, when its Expositors and Disciples contend for “injustice and inhumanity” by the Book ; what blasphemy ! and slavery, with its abettors, is “a mill-stone hanged about the neck” of the church, from which she must be loosened, or she will “be drowned in the depth of the sea.”

3. This is the substance of a Sermon which was lately delivered in defence of Slavery. What refined notions of honesty ! What joy to Man-stealers ! What a triumph for the Devil ! Alas !

* 2 Peter 3. 16, 17. † James 2. 10.

✓ The flagitious acts concerning Slaves which Christians daily and publicly perpetrate without remorse, are a just subject of animadversion. Repentance, reformation, and restitution are much more suitable for a *Slave-driver*, than the palliation of his guilt, or excuses for his enormous crime ; and it is the height of delusion, to suppose him, an " acceptable " Believer, who detains his fellow-man in the most dreadful vassalage. But if the most guilty and daring transgressor be sought, he is a Gospel-Minister, who solemnly avows his belief of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, or of the Methodist Discipline, and notwithstanding himself is a *Negro-Pedlar*, who steals, buys, sells, and keeps his brethren in Slavery, or supports by his taciturnity, or his smooth prophesying, or his direct defence, the Christian Professor who unites in the kidnapping trade. Truth forces the declaration, that every Church-Officer or member who is a Slave-holder, records himself by his own creed, a Hypocrite ! 4.

✓ Extracts from various writers are incorporated with this disquisition : they illustrate and fortify both the doctrines which are advanced, and the arguments by which they are corroborated. The most enlightened Theologians,

4. No discussion of the African Slave-Trade is introduced : that was totally abolished in 1808 : and can never be re-established. Hence, it was unnecessary, either to display its enormities, or to oppose its unparalleled abominations.

Moralists, Civilians, Politicians, and Patriots of all denominations, climates, countries, and languages have uniformly coincided with the **BOOK** ; have expressed similar sentiments upon the impolicy, the injustice, the cruelty, and the anti-christianity of kidnapping in Africa and American Slavery ; and have thus consigned the original contrivers of this infernal machination, and the successive generations of those who have participated in its crimes and unhallowed pelf, to merited ignominy, and execration universal and everlasting.

No argument is requisite to justify a work, which honestly defends the rights of man, against the arbitrary exactions of inhuman Cainites, and unjust Rehoboamites ; which opposes "a licensed system of wholesale robbery and murder," and maintains the eternally paramount claims of equity and mercy ; which, by developing the absurdity of all pretensions to *Pure and undefiled Religion* in him whose whole life is a ceaseless rotation of stealing and cruelty, points the path of duty to the upright inquirer, and exonerates the church from the charge of sanctioning "the highest degree of theft ;" and which expostulates with those whose diurnal practice is a continual violation of the spirit and letter of the moral law, a flagrant departure from the steps of the Redeemer and his primitive Servants, and an open disgrace to Republicanism and Christianity.

What shall an Expositor of the Truth do ? dare he connive at evils which obstruct the prosperity of the church ? Though convinced of the absolute impossibility to reconcile the bondage and traffic of men with evangelical philanthropy ; shall *he hold his peace*, and refuse to illuminate the ignorance, to remove the prejudices, to combat the injustice, and to expunge the inconsistency of his professing Christian Brethren ?

He has calmly weighed the consequences ; he has deliberated upon the results ; he has foreseen the effect of the plain and earnest declaration of divine Truth ; he is convinced, that most persons will become his enemies ; he feels the workings of that *fear of man which bringeth a snare* ; and he cannot develop the varied agitation with which his heart is conflicted under a review of all the extensive censure which the TRUTH involves ; inculcating persons of all stations, characters, and of almost every denomination of Christians, and which declares them participants in "a system of incurable injustice, the complication of every species of iniquity, the greatest practical evil that ever has afflicted the human race, and the severest and most extensive calamity recorded in the history of the world" ! *

But how shall an earnest contender for *the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints*,

* William Pitt.

act? dare he cry PEACE, when God declares *there is no peace*? dare he deliver *smooth things*, when God urges penitence and reform? can he scrutinize this mass of corruption, and not warn his fellow-Christians to *touch not, taste not, handle not*? dare he from dread of offending, disobey the books of which he professed his belief, and to which he promised a conscientious practical conformity? And will he burden his shoulders with the curse of *handling the word of God deceitfully*? will he load his conscience with the conviction, that while men are deceiving themselves, he uses no means to remove their destructive delusions? will he conceal the truth, which unfolds the endless evasions and artifices of sin and Satan to ensnare the soul in perdition everlasting? and dare he deny the evident, undeniably correct interpretation of the word of God, to teach *the perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, that gain is godliness*.†

Certain repetitions of sentiment and phraseology were designed. It is absolutely indispensable to give the Church, *precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, that they may go, and fall backward, and be broken, and snared and taken*.‡ A criticism upon this volume, will not be heard, either from a *Thief, or from him who consents with him*.§ The permission would transform a

† 1 Timothy 6. 3. ‡ Isaiah 28. 10—13. § Psalm 50. 18.

Flesh-Merchant into Legislator, Judge, Jury man, Testimony and Delinquent: and his opinion, especially if he be a pretended Believer, will not be even listened to; because a *Kidnapper* or his Defender, is neither a Christian, nor a Presbyterian, nor a Baptist, nor a Methodist, nor a Republican; but a Despot, whose "traffic in slaves is totally irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity."¶

✓ O that this essay may remove the obloquy under which Religion groans, and teach us the just estimate which we should form of a Slave-holder's character! O, that Preachers, Officers, and Members of the Church, may take the alarm, and contemplate the result of their silence and example! O, that Nominal Disciples of Jesus may strive to maintain consistency, that it may no longer be an infidel reproach, "he is a Christian Slaveholder," *alias* Man-stealer! and O, that others may confederate for the contest, and cease not to combat, until LEGION is exterminated from the Temple of God!

—"Cut hark! whence rolls that thundering peal
Which shakes astonish'd Mammon's glittering mounds
And rouses all the fierce and clamorous ire
Of his tyrannic votaries? Lo! begirt
With the impervious mail of martyr'd zeal,
And golden truth, a little phalanx stands,
Upon the Heaven-defended batteries
Of Gospel-Law, and aims the artillery

¶ *Tenth Article of the Treaty with Britain.*

Of holy eloquence, against the dark,
The massy battlements of tyranny.
Thence tis, that those convulsing thunders break,
Which fire the sons of Avarice with rage.
Persist, ye reverend Veterans ! for the cause
In which your hallow'd banner is unfurl'd,
Embraces all that makes existence dear.
Undaunted band of Christian Patriots, hail !
May Victory's bays your honour'd temples crown,
And your reward be those delights supreme
Which store the magazines of heavenly bliss—
Whose melodies divine, no human ear
Has known ; whose charms unmatch'd, no earthly eye
Has seen ; and whose exhaustless excellence,
The mind and heart of man have ne'er conceived." •

• *Daniel Bryan.*

CHAPTER I.

STATEMENT OF THE SUBJECT.



THE corruption of the human heart, and the deceitfulness which accompanies it are inconceivable. Among the various modes by which they are displayed, *the detention of men in bondage indefinite*, should receive unmitigated execration : and the principles upon which *slave-holding* is defended, with the characters of those who engage in its support, are most melancholy demonstrations of duplicity, and of the promptitude, with which we can be deluded *to change the truth of God into a lie*. Is it not a fact too alarming to be recorded without the utmost dread, and will it not in futurity be deemed almost incredible, that a system which includes horrors ten-fold more than Egyptian servitude is incorporated with most of the *religious* ! and civil institutions, which are established in the only land of freedom that exists on the habitable globe ? Will subsequent ages credit so monstrous a statement ; that Preachers of the Gospel, 1800 years after Angels had sung, *on earth, peace, good-will to men*,† were characterized as proverbially devoted participants in all the enormities and iniquity of man-stealing ? and nearly 40 years after the promulgation of the Columbian Declaration of

† *Luke 2. 14.*

Independence reprobated its *self-evident truths*, as unsound propositions, because in practice their covetousness, and their barbarous robbery of the rights of man would have been restrained

That any persons should have imbibed effrontery sufficient to commence and persist in an internal trade with the bodies and souls of men, where the illumination of the Gospel determines our duties, responsibility, and destiny, is proof more than ample, of the innate tendency of the human race to every moral obliquity. Admitting that under the reign of Monkish superstition, an absurdity so preposterous might have been tolerated for the sake of exacting the fees of penance and absolution; what apology shall be patiently heard at the present era, for upholding a traffic which necessarily includes every species of iniquity, and which is the offspring of an unhallowed avarice that conducs to hell?

The cunning and pertinacity with which men, who have not the plea of ignorance to excuse their aberrations maintain and justify their ungodly practices, is a most lamentable and irrefragable testimony of the vitiated propensities of the soul. But although, through the lustre of the Holy Scriptures, it is scarcely possible to discover an individual who will calmly palliate the evil nature of those more flagrant transgressions of the moral law, those plebeian violations of decency which are e-

qually debasing and disgusting ; yet, they who denounce these crimes and the perpetrators of them in terms of unqualified reprobation, with equal zeal will excuse more fashionable sins, especially if they are menaced with the consequences of their guilt.

The conduct of Religious Professors and rulers loudly demands the severest castigation, and renders the defence of those who adhere to the truth, doubly necessary. It requires more than Christian charity to allow many persons the characteristic of *sincerity* ; for the contradiction is so vast, that if the highest interests of the human family were not connected, their discrepancy would excite ridicule : but as man's eternal doom is indissolubly combined with the rectitude of his present practice, the heart is filled with the keenest compassion for that obduracy which rejects truth, for that blindness which transmutes its individualizing qualities, and for that hypocrisy, which to evade scriptural censures, distorts *the book* into a sanction of the vices that it unequivocally condemns.

Human inconsistency and folly cannot be developed in a stronger light, than by a dispassionate review of the multifarious artifices which are adopted to veil the horrors of Slavery, and the evasions by which the charge that they are the most enormous sinners against God and man, is repelled. Had this compound of all corruption no connection with

the church of Christ ; however deleterious are the effects of it in political society, however necessary is its immediate and total abolition, and however pregnant with danger to the *Union*, is the prolongation of the system ; to Legislators and Civilians, the redress of the evil would have been committed. But *Slavery* is the *golden Calf*, which has been elevated among the Tribes, and before it, the Priests and the Elders and the *nominal* sons of Israel, *eat, drink, rise up to play, worship and sacrifice**—there are *Balaams* among us, who prophesy in the name of the Lord, but covet the presents of Balak†—we have an *Achan* in the camp, whose unsanctified love of money troubles us‡—this is *Delilah*, whose fascinations unnerve Samson's arm, despoil him of his locks, and leave him a prey to the Philistines§—this is *Bathsheba*, whose charms have bewitched Christians, until they are involved in impurity and murder||—this is *the idol which the children of Israel have set up in their hearts : the stumbling-block of iniquity which the house of Judah have placed before their faces*¶—his covetousness recoins the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed his Lord**—and this is that *love of the present world*, for which Demas forsook the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.††

* *Exodus* 32. † *Numbers* 22 ‡ *Joshua* 7

§ *Judges* 16. || 2 *Samuel* 11. ¶ *Ezekiel* 14. 8.

** *Matthew* 26 14—16. †† 2 *Timothy* 4. 10.

The Book, the unbiassed convictions of every man's conscience, and the natural sensibilities of the heart, establish this doctrine : but Officers and Members of the church have endeavoured to intimidate and silence the promulgers of the truth : while the shameless attempts which have latterly been made, to sustain a system of merciless horrors upon evangelical principles, and by men whose authority will be adduced, and whose example will be imitated by the thoughtless and the covetous, imperiously require the exertions of those who would preserve the character of sincere Christians. 5.

"I shall briefly give my opinion of *slavery* I know it to be inhuman ; I am certain it is unjust : and no honest man can support a trade founded upon principles of injustice and cruelty Upon this subject, I neither feel, nor desire to feel, any thing like moderation. We are accused of enthusiasm Are we then Fanatics ? are we Enthusiasts ? because we cry, *Do not rob, do not murder !* I have ever considered this business as a most unjust and horrible persecution of our fellow-creatures : and in whatsoever situation I may ever be ; as long as I have a voice to speak, *this question shall never be at an end.*"

"Thus Fox, all-cloquent for freedom stood,
With speech resistless as the voice of blood ;
The voice that cries through all the Patriot's veins,
When at his feet his country groans in chains ;
The voice that whispers in the Mother's breast,
Who smiles her infant in his rosy rest :

5 The circumstances which produced this volume are subsequently narrated.

• Charles James Fox.

Of power to bid the storm of passion roll ;
 Or touch with sweetest tenderness the soul.
 He spake in vain—till with his latest breath,
 He broke the spell of Africa in death :
 His *dying accents* trembled into air ;
 "Spare injured Africa ! the NEGRO SPARE !" †

That so monstrous an anomaly as man-stealing should ever have existed, almost surpasses credibility : but that Messias' disciples should be guilty of this highest transgression against human nature, and defend its abominations, never could have been believed, had not all our senses verified the awful fact. 6.

† *Montgomery's West-Indies.*

6. The question was introduced for discussion into the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. A petition upon the propriety of acknowledging Slaveholders as Christian Believers, and a reference respecting the religion of *Soul-Merchants* were presented : their proceedings exhibited great indecision, and intimated not hesitation only, but a fear to fulfil their obligations. ‡

During the debate, the uniform conduct of Slaveholders who profess Christianity, was denied as "*misrepresentation*:" notorious facts were contradicted upon the plea of "*exaggeration*:" and an aversion from detaining men in involuntary, unconditional, and interminable servitude and degradation, of the blackest nature, and in the basest degree, was reprobated in the most public manner, as "*the offspring of a turbulent and factious spirit.*"

‡ *The minute of the Assembly ; a Protest against the decision of that body ; and a method to extirpate Slavery from the Church, are inserted in the Appendix.*

Being decided against any compromise between justice and injustice, Gospel-sincerity and human dissimulation, and opposing this Goliath of iniquity ; *the sling and the stone* are taken—

Yes ! It is the *misrepresentation* with which they charged Elijah, when on Mount Carmel, he denounced the Priests of Baal as the soul-destroyers of the Israelites : † it is the *exaggeration* with which the Jews calumniated Jeremiah, when he delivered the tremendous information—that for enslaving their brethren, the LORD *proclaimed liberty to the sword, the pestilence, and the famine.* * It is the *turbulence* which characterized Peter, when he avowed before the Sanhedrim, that *he would obey GOD rather than man* : ‡ it is the *factionous spirit* which was imputed to Stephen, when he declared the truth of the Jewish Council ; *Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, who do always resist the HOLY-GHOST, as your Fathers did, so do ye* : § it is the *world-upside-down-turning* disposition, which emboldened Paul, to preach *Repentance* and the *Resurrection of the dead*, to the *Arcopagites* : || it is the *turbulence* for which they reviled Martin Luther, when he dared to defend the *truth*, though Rome and her imps had determined to destroy him : it is the *factionous spirit*, by the influence of which, John Knox silenced Mary of Scotland, when he assured her, that there was a vast distinction between an ignorant and an informed conscience, and that her judgment being unenlightened, conducted her into the paths of error and irreligion : and it is that *misrepresenting, exaggerating, turbulent and factionous spirit*, which peopled the Columbian Wilds, rather than surrender to any ecclesiastical ty-

† 1 Kings 18. * Jeremiah 34 8—20. ‡ Acts 4 and 5. § Acts 7. 51. || Acts 17.

*Who is this uncircumcised PHILISTINE,
that he should defy the armies of the living
God? **

* 1 Samuel 17. 26.

ranny, the rights of man, and the illumination of the
BOOK.

O for more "*Misrepresenters*," who have the bold-
ness to display the abominations of *Negro-Tanners* !
O for more "*Exaggerators*" who will heap confusion
upon *pretended* Christians, by lucidly developing their
constant violations of the eighth commandment ! O
for more *turbulent* and *factionous* souls, who will not
connive at Officers and Members of the Church,
stealing men, with impunity, and without censure !

O God, grant us all the exuberance of that spirit
which impelled the reformers, the Martyrs, the
Prophets, and the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST ! AMEN.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAW OF GOD AND MAN.



SO abhorrent from our natural sensations is the system of stealing, buying, selling, and enslaving immortal creatures, that it is difficult accurately to delineate this wretched degradation of man. *A Slave is a rational, responsible being, with an abject mind and broken heart; without any will: all whose rights are robbed; whose liberty is despoiled, and whose life is prolonged at the caprice of a tyrant.* No difference is perceptible, between the traffic in human flesh on the coast of Africa or in the interior of America. Every slave in these States is as notoriously *kidnapped*, as if they had been purloined from Guinea: and he who claims a coloured child as his property, and nurtures and detains it in slavery, is equally a *Man-thief*, with the *Negro-stealer* on the Gold-Coast.

Those persons who denounce the African *Flesh-Merchant*, and who *seem* to admit, that the imported souls could not have been justifiably captivated, deny that they unrighteously grasp their brethren, and denominate themselves "*innocent Slave-holders*:" but this is *self-confutation*. Can that be *innocence* in the temperate zone which is the *acme of all guilt* near the equator? can that be *honesty* in one meridian of longitude, which at 100 degrees

east, is the *climax of injustice*? and would not he, who appropriates to himself, all the children born around him, immediately as they enter the world, upon the same principles, make a descent upon Congo, and kidnap a ship load? No real distinction exists between him, who steals the woman from her husband, the child from its parent, or the whole family, on the eastern or the western shores of the Atlantic, whether for exportation or domestic *vassalage*. 7.

He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death. ‡

"By this law, every man-stealer, and every receiver of the stolen person, lost his life: whether the latter stole the man himself, or gave money to a *Slave-Captain* or *Negro-Dealer* to steal for him. All kidnapping and slave-dealing are prohibited, whether practised by individuals or the state."§

7. These identical individuals would rage, if it were attempted thus to exculpate any other *Felon*. *Innocent Horse-Thief* is more consistent language than *Innocent Slave-holder*; for the crime of the latter exceeds that of the former, as much as the limited and temporary powers of the animal are surpassed by the extensive capacities and never-ending existence of man. "We know men to whom the truth is become unintelligible, in consequence of the disguise in which they have taken the pains to clothe it; and who have accustomed themselves to palliate vice, till they are incapable of perceiving its turpitude." Saurin.

‡ *Exodus* 21. 16.

§ *Adam Clarke.*
C

If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandize of him, or selleth him, then that THIEF shall die. ¶

"Christianity has annihilated that distinction of nations which was once established : every man is now our brother, whatever be his nation, complexion, or creed. How then can the merchandize of men and women be carried on, without transgressing this commandment, or abetting those who do ? If a man steal a horse or sheep, he is condemned ; but if he steal or purchase of those who steal, hundreds of men and women, he not only escapes with impunity, but grows great by this unnatural commerce ! According to the law of God, whoever stole cattle restored four or five fold ; whoever stole one human being, though an idiot or an infant, must die. He who stole any one of the human species, in order to make a slave of him, or to sell him for a slave, whether the Thief had actually sold him, or whether he continued in his possession, was punished with death : but if we are true Christians, we shall have no occasion for penal statutes to restrain us from stealing or enslaving our brethren of the human species, and trading the bodies of men." ¶

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant who is escaped from his master unto thee : He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best : thou shalt not oppress him. David said to the Egyptian, canst thou bring me down to this company ? and he said, swear unto me by God, that thou wilt neither kill me, nor deliver me into the hands of my master, and I will bring thee

down to this company Take counsel, execute judgment ; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day : hide the outcasts, bewray not him who wandereth. Thou shouldest not have stood in the cross-way, to cut off those who did escape ; neither shouldest thou have delivered up those who did remain in the day of distress. As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee : thy reward shall return upon thine own head. *

These scriptures proclaim that *slave-holding* is an abomination in the sight of God : for it justifies the slave in absconding from his Tyrant, and enjoins upon every man to facilitate his escape, and to secure his freedom. Does this injunction comport with a Christian's advertising as a fugitive criminal, a man who has merely fled from his cruel captivity, or with his aiding to trace and seize him who had thus burst from "durance vile" ? It is a reiteration of the theft : yet he professes to be influenced by the Gospel ! 8.

But the *Man-stealer* states, that this is injustice, as it destroys his *property* ; and that it is base to aid a slave to fly from his chains, or not to assist in recapturing him. Were the master placed in similar misery with the vic-

* Deuteronomy 23. 15, 16 1 Samuel 30 10—16.
Isaiah 16 3. Obadiah 14, 15.

8 "Well may we blush when we hear a man boasting of his rights as an American, and of his citizenship among the Saints, with a whip in one hand, a chain in the other, and before him, a Negro flayed from the head to the loins !"

tim of his cruel avarice, and he should escape ; rather than be seized, he would slay the assailant ; his heroism would be honoured, and his contest for freedom being righteous, he would be exonerated : but if a coloured person should wound a *kidnapper*, he is ignominiously executed, and almost without form : for the trial of Negros is the highest burlesque upon the administration of justice, that despotism ever devised.

"For tis establish'd by your partial laws,
No slave bears witness in a *white* man's cause.
Beings you deem them of inferior kind,
Denied a human or a thinking mind.
Happy for Negros were this doctrine true,
Were *feelings* lost to them, or given to you !"

A man cannot assist in seizing a slave, and robbing him again of his liberty or life, when he is inculpable before society, without violating the law of love, and the command of God.

"Slavery ! virtue dreads it as her grave :
Patience itself is meanness in a slave.
Yet if the will and sovereignty of God,
Bid suffer it awhile, and kiss the rod,
Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And *snatch the chain the moment when you may !*"

The prophecies are filled with divine denunciations against Judah and Israel, for their *oppression, fraud, rapine, cruelty*, and the varied enormities which originated in their covetousness ; and Tyre was destroyed for having *traded the persons of men* ||

|| *Ezekiel 27. 13.*

The gospel censures these sinners with celestial authority. Paul characterizes the Romans who were *Slave-holders*, as *inventors of evil things, without natural affection, implacable, and unmerciful.**

"Among the most corrupt transgressors, he classes *Man-Stealers*.† This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; and the Apostle classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in detaining them in it. Stealers of men are all those, who bring off slaves or freemen, and keep, sell or buy them. "To steal a Freeman is the highest kind of theft.§ In other instances we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, Lords of the earth.‡ 9

"Man-stealers!—The worst of all thieves; in comparison of whom, highway robbers and house-breakers are innocent! What then are traders in Negroes, and procurers of servants for America?"§

"Men-Stealers are inserted among these daring criminals, against whom the law of God directed its awful curses. These kidnapped men to sell them for slaves; and this practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery; nor can a *slave-dealer* keep free from this criminality, if "the receiver be as bad as the thief."||

"They who make war, for the inhuman purpose of selling the vanquished as slaves, are really men-

* *Romans* 1. 30. † *1 Timothy* 1. 10. § *Grotius*.

‡ *Presbyterian Confession of Faith*.

9. With this doctrine, as his avowed creed, can a *Presbyterian Slave-driver* charitably be deemed a sincere Christian?

¶ *John Wesley*.

|| *Scott*.

stealers. And they who encourage that *unchristian* traffic by purchasing the slaves which they know to be thus unjustly acquired are partakers in their crime."†

The *Lord God who judgeth her*, will effuse his wrath upon Babylon, because *she makes merchandize of Slaves, the bodies, and souls of men.**

"To number the *persons of men* with beasts, sheep, and horses, as the stock of a farm, or with bales of goods, as the cargo of a ship, is a most detestable and *antichristian practice.*"*

"Shall Protestants renounce that merchandize of Rome, which consists of *odours, and ointments, and chariots, and purple, and silk and scarlet*, and continue that more scandalous traffic in *slaves and souls of men?*"†

"In ages to come, it will scarcely meet with credit, that we who boast ourselves of being a free nation, should have been capable of *buying and selling souls*. If there were no other cause, this is enough to bring down the severest of the divine judgments! No political motives whatever can justify this *diabolical traffic*. Such has been the general practice of mankind in every age preceding the introduction of the gospel: and it is the introduction and profession of that gospel, which render the *dealing in slaves so enormously wicked! A Christian buying and selling slaves!* A man, who professes that the leading law of his life, is to do as he would be done by, spending his time, and amassing a fortune in *buying and selling his fellow-men!*‡

Is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man,
Who gains his fortune from *the blood of souls?*"‡

† Macknight.

* Revelation 18. 13.

|| Scott.

‡ Robinson.

§ Simpson.

† Cowper.

The Methodist discipline asserts, that there is "one only condition *previously* required of those who wish admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." But how shall they evidence that their desire is real and genuine? "By avoiding *evil* of every kind, especially that which is most generally practised : *the buying or selling of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them.* Notwithstanding, Methodist Christians engage in this evil : can they, in the exercise of evangelical charity, be pronounced *acceptable members*?

The ancient Jews understood the words in the decalogue, *Thou shalt not steal.* of *man-stealing* ; and thought that the other sorts of theft were implied in the last precept, *Thou shalt not covet* ‡ Under the Mosaic law, *man-stealing* was the only capital robbery ; for the theft of property was expiated by ample restitution. But to *enslave a Jew*, was deemed an equal crime with *murder* ; and as it virtually involves the same consequences, it incurred the same punishment : and it was no subject of inquiry, whether the slave was actually kidnaped by the claimant, or purchased from another ; but if it could be manifested, that such a person was detained by him *contrary to the law of God*, no alternative existed, *death was his immediate portion.*

‡ Exodus 20. 15—17.

"The system of slavery is justly held unwarrantable; because, by it, persons are involved in the enormous crime of *man-stealing*: and all who are guilty of this sin are ranked amongst the most notorious criminals. All the fraudulent methods that are taken for the purpose of enslaving men must be considered as man-stealing: but all the *buyers* and *holders* of *slaves* are partakers of the guilt of the *slave-merchant*. They support and encourage his infamous trade; nor can they pretend that their right to buy slaves, is any other or better, than that of the seller. *They are verily guilty in whose hand the slave is found*. No plea can excuse the practice of detaining in slavery the children of those who have been brought from Africa; or give a right to sell them, as any other article of property."

"The all-wise Creator of mankind never intended, that one part of the human race should sell for lucre the other. *Trading the persons of men* is altogether repugnant to the doctrines taught by our Lord himself, and to the dictates of the glorious gospel of peace, which preaches universal philanthropy and good will to men. *Paul, with reference to the detestable custom of kidnapping men, for the purpose of carrying them into slavery, classes man-stealing with those crimes which are most detestable in the eye of God*, most pernicious to society, and most deserving of death by the sword of the magistrate. *Man-stealing*," and all *slave-holding* is *man-stealing*, "must therefore be considered a gross evil, in every age, and every nation. This practice is a crime of the first magnitude against our neighbour. If he who pilfers another's property, steals a sheep, robs on the high road, or commits a burglary, be considered and treated as a thief, a robber, a pest to society, of what enormous villainy must he be guilty, who kidnaps my honest neighbour, my faithful servant, my dutiful child, or my affectionate wife, to transport the one or

• *Brown's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.*

the other to a country entirely unknown, and never thence to return! This outrage on the sacred rights of liberty, of justice and of humanity is greatly enhanced, if that worst of thieves intend, either to treat them himself as the most abject slaves; or to sell them for that cruel and infamous purpose." But it differs not, *whether he steals the parents in Guinea or the children in his own house*, or enslaves them himself, or transfers them to others for that nefarious object. "In either case, and much more when they are united, reason and conscience, the common sentiments and feelings of mankind, will all unite, if not debauched by avarice, or blunted by habit, to approve of Jehovah's law as just. *He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand; he shall surely be put to death*." Nor is there a man upon earth, not even among those who are grown hoary in the iniquitous trade of kidnapping and man-stealing, or bartering brandy and baubles for human flesh and blood, that would not execrate the character of him, to whose power or subtlety he had fallen a victim for similar purposes, and that would not pronounce him worthy of death. But if there were no receivers, there would be no thieves; and he who *receives the stolen bodies of men*, ought to be punished with death according to the law of the Lord, because they are *found in his hand*. How insulting to moral justice, and how affronting to common sense, that those persons who would be immured in the penitentiary, "for secretly purchasing a few shillings' worth of property, knowing it to have been stolen, should have it in their power publicly to buy and sell whole families of coloured people," with complete impunity, and without violating any prohibitory law of the land! as if rectitude and robbery were local things: the former losing its respectability, and the latter its turpitude, whenever the liberty and the lives of harmless negroes become the object of avarice!

* Exodus 21. 16.

"The Bible is not in any manner a favourer of the system of enslaving mankind. It forbids nothing to the African, that is equitable in the conduct of the American. It knows no more of a *white man buying and enslaving a black one, than it does of a black man buying and enslaving the white.* In its impartial estimate, and under its commanding power *Pagans and Christians are all on a level.* If the lawfulness of purchasing innocent persons, for the most cruel and degrading slavery, exist among men, it must be a common right and equally possessed by all nations. *All mankind might be taken to the best market for the human species; exposed in the most indecent manner to public sale; handled and examined like so many head of cattle by their purchases; consigned over, with their unborn posterity, to the most cruel slavery, from generation to generation; and for what? Here let humanity blush, mercy sweep, and justice be roused into indignation.* As it is impossible to prove that the natural rights of man are not equally sacred in Africa as they are in America; would the law of this country permit, the trafficker in souls would no more scruple to kidnap, or purchase the son of his next neighbour, than he would the inhabitants of a remote continent or their descendants."

The principles of moral right and wrong are invariable. They are not circumscribed by geographical boundaries, or particular periods of time; but apply to every individual, of all communities, and in every age. Practices condemned among the Israelites, upon the basis of eternal rectitude, never can be justified: and Jewish aberrations from the requisitions of their own heaven promulged law, instead of furnishing us an example to copy, provide a beacon for alarm and instruction.

• *Wood's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.*

The public formularies of the United States exhibit the vast contradiction between our doctrine and practice with oracular authority.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"All men are born equally free and independent; all men have certain natural, essential and inherent rights—among which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness. Among the natural rights some are in their very nature unalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the Rights of Conscience."†

"All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights: among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; and that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."‡

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness."||

"Through divine goodness, all men have by nature, the rights of worshipping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their consciences, of enjoying and defending life and liberty, and acquiring and protecting reputation and property, and in general, of attaining objects suitable to their condition, without injury by one to another; and these rights are essential to their welfare."§

▪ Declaration of Independence. † New-Hampshire.
‡ Massachusetts. || Pennsylvania. § Delaware

"All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights; of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"¶

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"***

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."*

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state.†

Thus saith the BOOK; but the laws which sanction the slavery of Negros, deny this doctrine, and consequently are a LIE!

How callous must that heart be to all shame! which notwithstanding these *self-evident truths*, can gravely maintain the necessity of protracting slavery, and uphold its horrors by his actual participation: for every liberal mind is thoroughly convinced, of the unrighteousness and inexpediency of this, the most cruel, detestable and consummately wicked measure that

¶ Virginia.
Territory.

** Vermont.
† Ohio.

* North Western

has been ever devised by mercantile avarice, or sanctioned by a sordid, narrow and misguided policy.

What *hypocrisy and villany*, to profess that we are *votaries of liberty*, while we encourage or countenance the most *ignoble slavery*.* We cannot form to ourselves an idea of an object more ridiculous, than an *American patriot signing declarations of Independence* with one hand, and with the other, *brandishing his whip over his affrighted slave*.

How awfully deluded must he be, who, wilfully closing his eyes to the splendour of divine illumination, and shielding his soul from all the arrows of conviction, will consider himself Messiah's disciple, though by the Book, his conscience, his own theological and republican creed, and the supreme law of the land, he stands condemned for *injustice and inhumanity*, before the Church and the World. *A cruel man-stealing Christian!* 10. ✓

* *Brannagan.*

10. We combat not the theft of Negros on the coast of Africa, and the transportation of them to the United States. The wholesale Man-stealer, like Cain, bears the mark in his Forehead; he is a *fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth*: and the "Christian Broker in the trade of blood," whose wealth is increased, by alienating all social affections, by severing all relative ties, by dissolving all domestic relations, and by transplanting from one state to another these wretched creatures, because they have a different tinge from himself, is the primeval Murderer's own offspring. Examine *his face*, it is the exhibition of every internal passion: *his heart!* !

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"These same Slave-holders would wade through seas of the blood of white men, as well as black men, to gratify their despotic propensities if they were not restrained: it is the *fear* not the *love* of either God or man, that restrains them."†

As these are the unadulterated truths of the Gospel, how can a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, be connected with a system which essentially generates such malevolent principles, and such barbarous conduct? Yet Church-Officers display a predominant insensibility to this complicated turpitude. The quintessence of all absurdity is to hear an Oppressor, in the name of him "who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire," expatiate upon the book delivered to Jesus in Nazareth.‡

"A person *cannot* be a child of God, and live in the practice of that which his reason, his conscience, and Scripture disallow: and a man must be intellectually blind, not to see that all these faithful monitors absolutely and unequivocally condemn slavery and its abettors."†

As *equity* and *injustice*, *philanthropy* and *barbarism*, *vice* and *religion*, cannot coalesce; every Officer and Member of the Church, who steals slaves, although he professes to believe and inculcate the evangelic charity which he does not exemplify, is equally culpable with the *Cannibals*, who kidnapped their African ancestors.

‡ Brannagan. § Luke 4. 16—32. † Brannagan.

CHAPTER III.

SLAVERY IS IMPIOUS, CRUEL, FALSE AND UNJUST.

THE Slavery of our species combines every base characteristic. When that august period shall have arrived, that the total extinction of this monster shall be celebrated with the triumphs of Christianity—the inscription which will narrate its existence will simply record—*Here lies the enemy of man, whose principles were irreligion, whose dispositions were cruelty, whose language was falsehood, whose conduct was injustice, and whose pretensions were hypocrisy.* An impious, barbarous, and deceitful Thief! Yet this Idol has usurped a prominent station in the temple of God, and silences the voice of those who minister and serve in the Sanctuary—until the *Blind are leading the Blind into the ditch of perdition.*

Slavery is *impious*, for it directly subverts the divine authority. The supremacy of the great Jehovah is denied, and his government of the human family entirely wrested from him by this vile usurpation. Every principle which dignifies, every affection which refines, and every action which adorns, are inseparable from a permanently operative and deeply impressed conviction of our responsibility before God, for the correct improvement of the privileges with which he has enriched us :

but all these are extinguished as soon as man is degraded to a brute. No alternative exists; inferiors in wealth and civil stations must be considered as moral agents, or must be classed with the flocks and herds of the field. Hence, slavery involves the most awful consequences, and wretchedness irremediable. It is a wilful disobedience to the commandments of God; and not only exposes the criminal to the wrath of the Judge, but is a most artful and diabolical invention to exclude even the sufferer by this ungodly machination from the celestial regions of bliss.

He who has scrutinized the uniform tendency of involuntary servitude; who examines the unvarying practice of those who ingulph the bodies and souls of men in the net of their selfishness and insensibility; and who, with the eye of Christian philanthropy, has investigated the moral character of the servants, knows; that a *Slave-holder* is an *unfeeling despot*, who would overthrow God's jurisdiction.

Very few *Men Stealers* comparatively are even *nominal* Christian Believers. How can a person pretend to be a disciple of the crucified Jesus, who hinders his worship and contravenes his commands; in whom all evangelical charity is extinct; and who will neither enter the kingdom of heaven, nor permit those to approach who would crave admission at the gate? The spirit of Christianity and the practices of *Men-thieves* are at total oppugnation; and consequently they exert

their energies to counteract the progress of "pure and undefiled religion." By their example and influence, they endeavour to diminish all regard for sacred institutions, to impede the acquisition of all necessary knowledge, and to obstruct their slaves from listening to the admonitions of divine truth.

Christianity promulges liberty to the captive ; it depicts all the misery which must necessarily follow an equitable remuneration, if God requites the Slave-holder, as he has abused his fellow-man ; it inculcates the doctrines of *justice*, which the *Man-stealer* ever violates ; of *mercy*, which never regulate his intercourse with others ; of *love*, which are swallowed up by an avaricious, dissipated extinction of feeling ; and of *religious fear*, which has been exterminated from his heart, by his deliberate rejection of the light to life, and by his obduracy in opposing "the truth as it is in Jesus;" because it condemns his theft and barbarity.

Hence the Sabbath is disregarded, the means of grace are neglected, and the Gospel ceases at all to interest, until the candlestick is removed from its place, and both the Tyrant and the Slave, realizing a marble-hearted indifference, mingle the same profane execrations, exhibit an identical dishonour of God, and manifest an equal insensibility to worlds everlasting. But if the Slave, convinced of the value of his soul, and solicitous to be rescued from the wrath to come, is desirous to receive gospel instruction, it is altogether

denied him, or his attendance at the house of prayer is so restricted, that it includes all the qualities of a total prohibition. 11.

The law of Virginia denominated a variety of meetings by the coloured people, unlawful; but the clause was so indeterminate, that it empowered the Magistrate to decide what assemblies subjected the attendant to fine and punishment. By an act of the year 1804, all night-meetings *upon whatever pretext*, insured the parties, if convicted, a *whipping*: but this act being a direct violation of religious freedom, it was subsequently amended and explained: and a higher stigma upon legislation, if the clause is viewed in connection with the relation which man sustains to the Supreme Creator, can scarcely be traced upon record; except that every law connected with slavery is equally insulting, wicked and absurd. "Nothing in the said act shall prevent the masters or owners of slaves from carrying or permitting his, her or their slave or slaves to go with him, her or them, or with any part of his, her or their white family, to any place whatever for the purpose of religious worship; provided, that such worship be conducted by a regularly ordained or licensed white minister."†

11. All those masters who neglect the religious and moral instruction of their slaves, add a heavy load of guilt to that already incurred, by their share in this unjust and inhuman traffic.

Wakefield.

† Revised Code. *

The total obstruction, is not one jot more hostile to the progress of the Gospel, more subversive of every natural right, or more daring in its defiance of Jehovah's supremacy. How men who swear by the Book, to perform their official duties, could enact such regulations for the government of immortal souls, cannot be explained upon any principle, which does not overwhelm them with the utmost disgrace.¹²

Even those who have a small portion of conscience remaining, display their depravity ; for their pride revolts, if the descendants of Africa are seen within the walls of the temple ; generally no convenient stations are provided for slaves, that they may hear the truth ; and where a man contrives to preserve the forms of domestic worship with the *stealing and trafficking of human flesh* ; the victims of his merciless robbery are excluded : and is it a subject of surprize ? How a man *can pray* in his habitation, with a horde of slaves around him, is inexplicable upon any principle of feeling, affection, or Christianity ! The unconcern which slave-holding produces in the Tyrants, with respect to the eternal peace

¹² Planters prevent their negroes from being instructed in a religion which proclaims the equality of all men ; all proceeding from a common stock, all participating the benefits of creation, and among whom, with the Father of men, there is no acc. pation of persons. Slavery is therefore an outrage upon Christianity.
Robinson.

of their own children, and the salvation of the wretched objects of their compound avarice and cruelty, evince, that slavery is *impious*, since it tends to exterminate the authority of Jehovah.

This subversion of the divine government necessarily follows from the adoption of the LIE, that *one man can justifiably be so reduced to the command of another, as to have no will but that of his director.*

Man owes to his Creator and Judge duties from the performance of which no terrestrial power can possibly absolve him. Among these are the cultivation of devotional tempers and the fulfilment of Christ's requisitions. The existing relation between the *Slave-driver* and his vassal, proclaims the impracticability of a compliance with his obligations, and consequently, that he who *steals a man or keeps him in his hand*, is a bold usurper of celestial jurisdiction, and a merciless violator of human right, freedom and responsibility. Does not the absolute uncontrouled dominion which the Master possesses over his slave, render even the existence of spiritual-mindedness almost impossible; by opposing to a regular use of the means necessary to strengthen a pious disposition, vast obstructions which counter-balance, if not destroy the force of the Saviour's claim, and make his commands nugatory? When the injunction of God and the order of the *Slave-tyrant* are directly at vari-

ance, when the law of heaven and the mandate of the *Negro-Thief* are both compulsory at the same period, to the earthly authority the slave must primarily submit; and when the everlasting welfare of the servant's soul, and to facilitate the sensual gratifications of his barbarous *despot*, are placed in competition, both parties may be condemned by the Most High, but the doubly cruel Voluptuary must not be disappointed.

Slavery is *impious*, because it strikes directly at the paternal government of the adorable Father of mankind, *who made of one blood all the nations upon the face of the earth, and who, having fixed the bounds of their habitations, fills their hearts with food and gladness.*†

Negros are in all respects, except in regard to life and death, *cattle*. They are bought and sold, fed or kept hungry, clothed or reduced to nakedness, beaten, turned out to the fury of the elements, and torn from their dearest connections, with as little remorse, as if they were beasts of the field.

Their situation is rendered far more miserable than if they were brutes. Their food is so coarse and bad, that nothing but necessity could compel them to eat it; while their labour and their punishments are severe and cruel.‡

Are slaves taught to read, so that they can peruse the divine records? If one of ten thousand has attained sufficient learning to spell the plainest passage of Christian instruction, is not the labour which attends it, an obstacle to the acquisition of necessary knowledge almost insuperable? But so few of the whole

† *Smith, Acts 14. 17. and 17. 26.* ‡ *Rowland Hill.*

body of the coloured race have arrived even at this stage of illumination, that they are in a great measure incapacitated to comprehend the force of the most homely and common illustrations of the BOOK.13.

At the commencement of the year 1805, and while the Legislature were influenced by the same spirit which uniformly has directed all their disgraceful proceedings respecting the unfortunate creatures who have been *kidnapped and enslaved*—in an act concerning these *heirs of misery* a clause was inserted particularly relating to *free* coloured children, which demonstrates an unwavering resolution in the civil authorities to impede every possible melioration of the degraded state of these *rational cattle*. "*It shall not be lawful for the overseers of the poor who may hereafter bind out any black or mulatto orphan, to require the master or mistress to teach such orphan, reading, writing or arithmetic.*"* What must be the unavoidable result of this impenetrable ignorance! How highly must the wrath of Heaven be

13. This torturing system has been pursued so far as to prevent the developement of the mental faculties. In Virginia, they are not allowed to learn to read. To have been able to read cost a black man his life. He demanded, that the Africans should share the benefits which American liberty promised, and he supported this demand by the BILL OF RIGHTS. The argument was *without reply*. In such cases, where *refutation is impossible*, ALL TYRANNIES having *features which resemble each other*; the NEGRO suffered on the gallows. Gregoire. * Revised Code

provoked against us, for such flagrant dishonour to his name, and such cruel injustice to the objects of his paternal care!

The plea of slavery is not offered; these are *free* children, bereft of all parental affections, the management and control of whose tender years are assumed by the public; and that authority which proffers them its guardian protection and solitudes, grasps them for no other purpose, than to nurture them in remorseless degradation. What vile hypocrisy! what unfeeling despotism! what daring impiety! what tremendous national guilt does this corruption involve! We *steal* the Parents; Providence liberates them from servitude; God calls them to his dread bar; their children survive them; and in offering the friendless orphans the tokens of our mercy, we deny them the noblest privilege of man, we refuse them all intellectual expansion, we doom them to disgrace during their mortal pilgrimage, and for their degraded condition alone, *seize* them by some infernal machination, at a subsequent period, as public nuisances: and sell the youth whom we have adopted as part of our family, to domestic task-masters, who *chain* them in interminable vassalage.¹⁴

14. Our Fathers most righteously complained, that George III. made their yoke insupportably grievous; but the *little finger* of some Legislatures is *thicker* than the British Tyrant's *loins* "He chastised them with *whips*," these REHOBAMITES "*chastise with SCORPIONS*." §

§ 1 Kings 12. 1—15.

With a fatigued body and a dispirited mind, broken with incessant labour, tamed by a constant privation of every comfort, and often lacerated with severity unmingled with mercy, the slave can feel little anxiety to devote any part of that time which is indispensable to rest his wearied and tortured frame, to the care of his soul. How can he be solicitous to mingle with the worship of God in the family where he resides, if devotional forms *are* maintained!

If he can ascertain the meaning of the Bible or the Hymn, or the petitions to the *throne of grace*, he must perceive that every portion of the exercises condemns the nefarious temper and the barbarous heart which reduced him to bondage; that all which Christianity includes and commands is a contradiction to all that he suffers and that his Master practises; and convinced therefore, that such a profession of religion is delusion or hypocrisy, he begins to consider Christianity itself as nothing more than a form devised by corrupt men, to conceal their cruel insidious designs and to cloak their malignant actions.

The Lord's day is generally devoted to pursuits, occupations and pleasures so dissonant from the sacred injunction, that the debased servant cannot even enjoy it as relaxation from labour. He has no choice: the filth of the week must be his companion, or the hours must be devoted to necessary ablutions; and thus the opportunities of evan-

Agelical instruction are inevitably lost : and can
 he be ready to attend public worship in due
 season, the haughty looks and the contempt-
 uous aversion of the Christian *Man-stealers* :
 who are assembled, are of equal validity with
 a formal vote of exclusion from the synagogue.
 Hence the slave absents himself altogether
 from a fruitless attendance upon the house of
 prayer ; and thus is banished from the enjoy-
 ment of that illumination which is indispens-
 able to the soul's peace temporal and ever-
 lasting. If the Son of Man by his Spirit gra-
 ciously maintains the sense and life of god-
 liness in the slave's heart, every thing con-
 nected with him constantly counteracts the
 every exterior appearance, as well as the in-
 ternal predominance of Religion. The igno-
 rant and profane creatures who are his as-
 sociates ; their bestial mode of life by pro-
 miscuous cohabitation ; the want of requisite
 privacy for meditation and prayer ; the con-
 stant loss of all those means of grace which are
 necessary and favorable to religious meliora-
 tion, and the endless disquietude which he
 must feel, when he endeavors to concatenate
 a *sincere* profession of the Christian religion,
meekness and philanthropy, with the turbulent
 despotism and the unmerciful exhibitions of
 his Master, all must, if not totally eradicate
 the love of that which is good, so diminish
 its influence, that God is robbed of his glory,
 the Saviour of the affection due to him, re-

ligion of its ornament, the church of the services of her members, the world of its *sanctity and light*, and the soul of the peace which Christianity was revealed to bestow. Hence as slavery unavoidably extinguishes all religion in those who are made wretched by its sway over them; the jurisdiction which is claimed and exercised, is an impious usurpation of the divine supremacy.

"Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty and murder can invent; and *men-stealers* are the very worst of thieves. What an universal uproar it would make in this land if but one poor child were kidnapped from his parents!" and yet this *kidnapping* is a regular practice among professing Christians. "These are the people whom the Scripture describes as being *fast feeling*. The most knavish tricks are practised by these *dealers in human flesh*—and if the slaves think of our general character, they must suppose that Christians are Devils, and that Christianity was forged in Hell. These slave-purchasers talk of a *damaged slave*, as of a *damaged horse*; some *working-slaves*, and others *breeding-slaves*; for the children of slaves are not, according to the law of nature, the property of their parents, but of their owners; and when the planters and their overseers have children by these negroes, instead of regarding the offspring of their vicious passions, they breed up and sell their own children in slavery like others.—What a dishonour in us to carry on such an abominable traffic and to attempt to vindicate or even to palliate it, when every principle belonging to it is founded upon *incurable injustice*! Shall we call ourselves Christians or Devils? can a race of Devils art against us worse than we do against them? In art and wickedness, as it relates to our principle and practice, we abundantly exceed. The horrid business

at slavery in the whole of its establishment is founded on the "mammon of unrighteousness," on a selfish love of the world; and the result of this infernal traffic is, a regular system of *wholesale licensed thievery and murder*. Instead of supposing the principles of Christianity for a moment allow such a hellish commerce in human blood; directly as we are made by the *power* of the gospel, what we should be by the *letter* of the law, we are blessed with the spirit of universal love.

"We blush with holy shame, that men
Who bear thy sacred name, our God,
Should dare one single man enslave,
Or shed one drop of human blood."

"The case now lies fully before us; and we have to make our choice, either to join ourselves to these manufacturers of human woe, or to renounce the horrid association. If we adopt the former, let us avow our conduct in its real deformity. Let us not affect to deplore the calamities attendant on slavery; nor let us pretend to execrate the conduct of the *slave-dealer*, the *slave-holder*, or the *slave-driver*; but apologize for them as our partners in iniquity: and if we now take our share in the transaction, with as little compunction we should take theirs; unless we can suppose, that we should become virtuous, in proportion as the temptation to vice increased: and then, we should not be destitute of subterfuges to destroy the feelings of our minds and the convictions of our consciences. We are now called upon to redress evils, in comparison with which, all that exist besides, sink beneath our notice. If we refuse, can we form the least pretence to a moral character? If these be deductions from the most obvious principles of reason, justice and humanity; what must be the result if we extend our views to religion? We do not assume

• Rowland Hill.

a religious profession to diminish the extent, or to weaken the force and obligation of moral duties.— Do we mean to insult the God whom we pretend to worship, by supplicating him to have mercy upon all prisoners and captives, and to defend and provide for the fatherless, widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed? If Christians, after an impartial examination, are satisfied that slavery is a fair and honest and lawful commerce, they ought to encourage it and to reprobate this work as an attempt to slander good men, and to injure their *property*, by holding it out to the public as *the produce of robbery and murder*. But if the arguments be valid, will they presume to treat the subject with cool indifference and continue a criminal practice? However obvious the duty, yet the mind, hardened by habit, admits with difficulty the conviction of guilt; and sanctioned by a common practice, we may commit the grossest violations of duty without remorse. It is therefore more peculiarly incumbent on us in such situations to examine our conduct with the utmost suspicion and to fortify our minds with moral principles, and the sanctions of religion. In proportion as we are under their influence, we shall exert ourselves to remove these evils, knowing that our example, our admonitions, our influence may produce remote effects, which we can form no estimate: and which, after having done our duty, must be left to *Him, who governs all things after the counsel of his own will.*"

All those who devise or execute any iniquitous measures, by which men are impeded from honoring God, and from performing the duties which they owe to him and their own souls in their moral relation to their Creator are the most contemptuous rebels against his authority: and if they superadd a claim to

* Brannagan.

competition with the command of Jehovah, they exemplify the audacity of Satan, who was hurled to everlasting despair for attempting to dethrone the Sovereign of the Universe. This charge applies to every *Slave-holder*; for services totally incompatible with the devotional exercises of the Believer are invariably, at the most unseasonable hours, and during the day of rest, required of these unfortunate victims of that *Savageness*, which by a most diabolical infatuation, has been combined with Christianity; and which has long exposed the truths of religion to reproach, the sacred cause to ridicule, the solemnities of the House of Prayer to contumely, and the very character of a Believer to suspicion. While therefore, a power is usurped and legalized which enables its possessor to defy the law of God and to obstruct the duties of men; and unqualified submission to every arbitrary, unjust and irreligious mandate cannot be evaded, without the sacrifice of mortal existence; slavery must be the *acme of all impiety*; consequently, it is impossible that a *Slave-holder* can be a sincere Christian.

Slavery is the climax of cruelty. By it every affection of the soul is exterminated. It severs all natural ties, and separates all social relations. Matrimonial engagements, when it commands, are dissolved; the chain which links parents and children, by its touch, is shivered to atoms; and at its approach, every domestic

duty dies. Hearts, animated by the most delicate love, indulge their mutual affection, not for a Father's and Mother's gratulations, but for a *Tyrant's* gain. Brothers and Sisters mingle their fraternal sensibilities, not in futurity to bless each other by reciprocal aid, but to increase their unmitigated torments. Seldom do they reside many years in the same habitation; a transfer is necessary; and it is made not according to family or moral connections, but by the proportionate value in different markets.

What are the pungent feelings and exacerbations of the Slave in every part of his existence! Doomed from the earliest period of youth to toil, with no necessary relaxation, for the gratification of another's inordinate desires; pinched by hunger, bereft of raiment, denied requisite accommodations at night to repose his enervated and emaciated frame; and for the most trifling inadvertency or the most innocent indulgence, scourged by a cruel and mercenary Task-Master, until his stripes incapacitate him from active duties; impeded from all religious instruction; tortured with every agonizing anticipation; and terrified by the prospect of pain, labour and bereavement, the miseries of which are diminished by no hope of melioration, he travels the pilgrimage of life, forgetful of God, himself, and eternity; until the lacerations of his heart urge him to the crime for which by the sacrifice of his mortal existence, he atones; or combined with

a diseased body, he drags out his temporal probation amid the unfeeling complaints of his *Kidnapper*, that he can no longer force him to fulfil the daily Task; the neglect of all around him; and the want of every consolation both internal and external, which might enable him with patience to bear his complicated affliction.

"Slavery or the holding of a fellow-creature and his posterity in perpetual bondage, is a source of all kinds of cruelty; and is a peculiarly unmerciful system. It exposes a man to disgrace, and triumphs in his fall. That slaves are ignorant, barbarous, and unprincipled is the consequence of their condition. Men regard their own interest before the interest of their fellow-creatures; and in despite of all the rights of humanity, have forced them across the ocean, and bound them and their posterity to the severest labour. Immortal souls in slavery! Subjects of the grace of God, and the purchase of the precious blood of Christ, in slavery! Beings capable of all the blessings of civil society, deprived of them all, to administer to the vices and pleasure of others! If this be mercy, what is not? Hail ye sons of Benevolence! will you sing?"

That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me!"

"Take a single slave from the millions, who are now immured in bondage; read in his wo-worn face, a brief and striking history of his misfortunes, of his antecedent subjugation and subsequent degradation; torn from his friends, how wishfully he takes a long, a last, an eager look at his violated wife and screaming children, while the tears trickle down his sable cheeks; he is forced from their embraces, while the atmosphere reverberates with their shrieks and groans. When

• *Snethin.*

I bring my wife and children in view, and consider what I should suffer were I in his situation, my heart weeps blood. Passing by his accumulated excruciation while under the whip of his task-master, depict him in his smoky hut, after the toils of the day ; see the tears begin to flow, when he thinks of his wife, his children and friends ; he lifts his eyes to heaven, sighs, and looks at his homely fare, the day's allowance of meal, and bursts into tears. He loaths his daily food, as his bodily anguish and mental despair vanquish his constitution. He is languid and feverish ; yet he has no friend, no relative to give him any assistance ; again he thinks on his family ; but the thought aggravates his malady, and accelerates his end. Exchange conditions with this slave, and thou canst not bear the picture of his death !”*

Persons called Christians and Officers of the Church, buy and sell the *stolen* coloured people, with little or no regard to their wishes or affections. The debased Servants are deprived of needful sustenance, are supplied with little and very insufficient raiment, and possess no suitable conveniencies for refreshing rest.— They are unmercifully and in general undeservedly chastised ; their health, intellects, religion, morals, peace and comfort are all disregarded, except the Despot's interest would be affected by neglecting them : and this diabolical machination cannot exist, without the perpetual exhibition of this malignity by the *Slave-Tyrant*. Does this degradation include no cruelty ? Do these privations result from the *pure and undefiled Religion* which Jesus taught his disciples on the mount ? Is this

* Brannagan.

that lucid proof of *condescending love to the Brethren* which *your Master* demands? Is this the justice that *the two commandments on which hang all the Law and the Prophets* inculcate? Is this the *mercy* which the Book enjoins us to display to the wretched, the indigent, and the oppressed? And can that man, whose heart with perennial uniformity evinces the predominance of those principles that produce such consequences, momentarily believe, upon scriptural authority, that he is transformed into the similitude of Him who was *meek and lowly in heart*: or can he *unfeignedly* affirm, *I know, that I am passed from death unto life because I love the brethren?* 15.

For this thing which it cannot bear, the earth is disquieted. The Gospel of Peace and Mercy preached by him who *steals, buys and sells* the purchase of Messiah's blood!—Rulers of the Church *making merchandize of their bre-*

15. "Thou wordling, who, with a prudence truly infernal, hast the art to give a beautiful tint to the most odious objects; who appearest not to hate thy neighbour, because thou dost not openly attack him; not to falsify thy promise, because thou hast the art of eluding it; not to oppress thy dependents, because thou knowest how to impose silence on them; *I saw thee*, when thou gavest those secret stabs, when thou didst receive bribes, when thou didst negotiate the blood of the miserable, when thou didst traffic the blood of the oppressed, and didst accumulate those wages of unrighteousness, which cry for vengeance against thee."

Saurin.

*thren's souls!—and Christians trading the persons of men!—Lovers of their own selves; Covetous; Proud; Fierce; Men of corrupt minds, who resist the truth; Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof—From such turn away.**

The *Slave-holder's* claim is founded on falsehood. So completely have the varied vicious dispositions which attend *man-stealing* blinded the eyes and indurated the hearts of *Flesh-Merchants* that they converse respecting slaves as *their property*, with as much gravity, as if they were *honestly* acquired, and as if no law had been violated. This infatuation has infected not the open reprobate only, who *neither fears God nor regards man*, but the professed believer in Christianity, thereby demonstrating the evil nature, the hardening, blinding tendency, and the consummate deceitfulness of sin.

He who steals his brethren, and sells them, and makes merchandize of them pleads: that the victim of wrong is legalized property; that the slave is equally a transferable possession with any other acquisition; that he is chargeable with no crime for having invested some of his money in souls and hands; that all the progeny of the creatures whom he originally purchased of right belong to him; and that he violates no rule of equity, no moral principle, and no Christian affection by accumulating wealth through this medium.

* 2 Timothy 3. 2—3

On the contrary, we asseverate ; that no rational being can, by any transmutation possible, ever become property ; that no terrestrial legislators, without the most diabolical impiety, can legalize this claim upon the human family ; that to traffic in flesh and blood animated by the reasoning capacities is the greatest practicable indignity which can be offered to men as mortals ; that he purchased an article, which he knew at the time of the pretended transfer was stolen ; that every coloured child born in his house, which he claims and holds as his property is shamelessly kidnapped ; and that every principle of justice, decency, order, rectitude and religion, is annulled by this most unrighteous claim and its effects. Notwithstanding, he demands to be recognized as a sincere, consistent Christian ! 16.

16. " It is in a high degree unjust and cruel, to reduce one human creature to such an abject state, that he may minister to the ease, luxury or avarice of another ? Has not that other the same right to have him reduced to this state, that he may minister to his interest or pleasure ? On what is this right founded ? Whence was it derived ? Did it come from heaven, from earth or from hell ? Has the great King of Heaven, given this extraordinary right to white over black men ? Where is the charter ? In whose hands is it lodged ? Thus reducing men, is an indignity, a degradation to our own nature. When we plead for slavery, we plead for the disgrace and ruin of our own nature. If we are capable of it, we may hereafter claim kindred with the brutes, and renounce our own superior dignity."

Rice.

“ In a state of nature, no man has a right to seize upon another, and to compel him by force to labour for his subsistence. But independent communities stand to each other in the very same relation that individuals do in a state of nature ; and therefore if the man of greater bodily strength or mental sagacity would have no right to convert his weaker neighbour into personal property, neither can the more powerful and enlightened nation have a right to carry off by force or entice by fraud, the subjects of a weaker and more barbarous community, for the purpose of reducing them to a state of servitude. Hence, the American right to purchase cannot be better than the African right to sell ; and no man can offer the shadow of a reason, why one African has a right to sell another. The right cannot be natural ; because natural rights are those which a man has to his life, limbs and liberty, to the produce of his personal labour, and to the use in common with others of air, light and water ; but these privileges are inalienable. That every man has a natural right or just claim to these things is evident from their being absolutely necessary to enable him to answer the purpose for which he was made a living and rational being. This shews undeniably that the Author of his nature designed that he should have the use of them, and that the man who wantonly deprives him of any one of these is guilty of a breach of the divine law. When slaves are brought to Market, no questions are asked about the origin or justice of the vendor's title ; but they are placed for life in subjection to a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth ; and the inordinate authority which the laws confer upon the Slave-holder is exercised with the utmost rigour and brutality. The right cannot be adventitious ; for adventitious rights are immediately derived from the municipal law, which is the public will of the state. But the state has no just authority to deprive an in-

noent man of his personal freedom, or of the produce of his own labour; for it is only to secure these, by protecting the weak from the violence of the strong, that states are formed and individuals united under civil government.

“ It may perhaps be said, that by patiently submitting to governments which authorise the traffic in human flesh, men virtually give up their personal liberty, and invest their governors with a right to sell them as slaves : but no man can invest another with a right which he possesses not himself : and in a state of nature, where all have equal rights, no individual can submit himself to the absolute disposal of another without being guilty of the greatest crime. From the relation in which men stand to one another as fellow-creatures, and to God as their common Creator, there are duties incumbent upon each peculiar to himself; in the performance of which, he can be guided only by his own reason, which was given him for that very purpose. But he who renounces his personal freedom, and submits unconditionally to the caprice of a master, impiously attempts to set himself free from the obligation of that law which is interwoven with his very being, and chooses a director of his conduct different from that which God has assigned him. A man therefore cannot reduce himself to a state of unconditional servitude, and what he cannot do for himself, he cannot authorize others to do for him, by a tacit or an open consent.”†

These principles result from our situation as rational creatures. Human life is altogether placed out of the controul of any terrestrial power, except in those extreme cases, where for the welfare of the body politic, it is indispensable to extirpate a pest. But the

† *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

means necessary to preserve that existence, and to execute the varied duties for which it was originally imparted, are equally requisite to its possessor. Slavery annihilates all. Man is justly subjected to moral law : but *property*, a slave who has no will, cannot be the proper object of rewards and punishments.

“ A young woman, in the state of servitude, would not be able to maintain her virtue against the solicitations of a master who should promise her liberty, or a remission of toil, upon her yielding to his desires ;” and for such refusal, many chaste females have been most barbarously lacerated, until agony forced a reluctant compliance with the debauched tyrant’s lust. “ A slave would not strenuously object to the perpetration of any wickedness to obtain his freedom, or even a diminution of his daily task : indeed those temptations might be thrown in his way, which human nature could not resist, but by means of the most gracious principles ; even then he might be scourged into compliance ; or his labour might be so increased as to make him, for a little respite eagerly embrace the most nefarious proposal which his master could offer ; for being absolute property, there is no earthly tribunal to which he could appeal for justice ; and very few slaves support themselves under their trials by the recollection of a future judgment.”*

Slaves after having thus perpetrated the crimes projected by their despots, have been arraigned upon the charge and evidence of their merciless tyrants, have been feloniously condemned and ignominiously deprived of life ; to screen the master from disgrace, and for

* *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

the sake of the value which is allowed to every individual, for the criminal whom he had previously seduced to violate the law, and then contrived under the sanction of its forms, to *murder*. The legislative act which allows the master an adjudged price for his guilty slave, is the very compound of all unrighteousness.

"Some Slave-holders have been instigated by avarice and other worse principles, to compel the creatures who are so absolutely their dependents, to engage in deeds of darkness too hazardous for themselves. The morality or the immorality of any action and the moral fitness of any state are to be judged by their moral tendency, if the one were universally practised, and the other universally prevalent; and as the natural tendency of absolute domestic slavery among such creatures as men is to throw the most powerful temptations to vice in the way both of Master and Slave; slavery must be in every instance, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of moral virtue."† "It is the double curse of slavery, to degrade all who are concerned with it doing or suffering; and the slave himself is the *lowest* in the scale of human beings except the *Slave-Dealer*."‡

"The Negro, spoil'd of all that nature gave
The free-born man, thus shrunk into a slave,
His passive limbs to measured tasks confined,
Obeys the impulse of another's mind;
Denied, though sought with tears, the sad relief
That misery loves, the fellowship of grief.
Not for himself he wakes at morning-light,
Toils the long day and seeks repose at night;
His rest, his labour, pastime, strength and health,
Are only portions of a master's wealth;

† *Encyclopedia Brittanica.*

‡ *Montgomery.*

His love! O name not love, when *Christians* doom,
The fruit of love to slavery from the womb.

"Lives there a savage ruder than the slave?
Cruel as death, insatiate as the grave,
Is he who toils upon the wasting flood,
A Christian Broker in the trade of blood;
Boisterous in speech, in action prompt and bold,
He buys, he sells,—he steals, he kills for gold.

"Lives there a reptile baser than the slave?
Loathsome as death, corrupted as the grave,
See the dull Creole,† at his pompous board,
Attendant vassals cringing round their Lord;
He stalks abroad; through all his wonted rounds,
The Negro trembles, and the lash resounds.
This is the veriest wretch on nature's face,
Own'd by no country; spurn'd by every race.
His soul;—has he a soul; whose sensual breast
Of selfish passions is a serpent's nest?
Whose heart mid scenes of suffering senseless grown
E'en in his Mother's lap was call'd to stone;
Whose torpid soul no social feelings move;
A stranger to the tenderness of love.
His motley harem charms his gloating eye,
Where ebony, brown and olive beauties vie;
His children, sprung alike from sloth and vice,
Are born his slaves, and loved at market price.
Has he a soul?—With his departing breath,
A form shall hail him at the gates of death,
The spectre Conscience,—shrieking through the gloom
Man, we shall meet again beyond the tomb."§

A human creature is *not* an article of traffic
for the law of God gives not the absolute
disposal of one man's life and freedom to
another. What he has not made an object
of donation, can never be bestowed by a crea-
ture; and as no person can possibly offer

† Man-thief or Slave-holder.

§ Montgomery.

any equivalent for a human soul, no purchase could ever be honestly made of a rational being; and of course, he never could be even claimed, much less stolen and transferred without the highest degree of iniquity: for no terrestrial power can possibly legalize that which God has peremptorily prohibited. 17.

Many persons propagate the notion, that the acts of earthly Lawgivers can make any practice legal, however base and corrupt its tendency: upon the validity of this sentiment, the superstructure of "detaining men in slavery" is founded. How does the *love of money* destroy the vision and deaden the sensibilities of those who are delivered over to its sway!

Our civil institutions are professedly established upon their conformity with the word of God: and the fundamental principles of the

17. Human legislators should remember, that they act in subordination to the great Ruler of the Universe, that they have no power to take the government out of his hand, or to enact laws contrary to his mandates; that if they attempt it, they cannot make that *right* which he has declared *wrong*; and that they cannot dissolve the allegiance of his subjects and transfer it to themselves and thereby free themselves or the people from their obligations to obey the laws of nature. Legislatures have not this authority; and a thousand laws can never make that *innocent*, which the divine law pronounces *criminal*; or give them a right to that which the divine law forbids them to claim."

Rice.

social compact, as they are declared in the Bills of Rights adopted by the several states, are generally in unison with the decisions of the sacred volume. But all these standard declarations of liberty and justice directly condemn the terrestrial authority which infringes the rights of man, and presuppose, if they do not openly avow, our dependence upon God, and the obligation to obey his law, to be paramount to any other claim or relation. The Leaders of the last generation are chargeable with the most consummate hypocrisy. Before the world, they boldly denounced the Tyrant of Great-Britain; that he would force the introduction of Africans into these states, as *slaves*. Having thus solemnly challenged mankind to the contemplation of his unrighteous conduct, whose "insupportable despotism," they forcibly rejected; they authorized the importation of kidnapped Africans during a period of thirty years; the whole union is included in the stigma of having licensed the enormities of this complicated system of moral turpitude, and national infamy, this most iniquitous traffic of "incurable injustice" and barbarity; and a system which afforded ample subject for the display of eloquent invective when applied to a foreign Despot, is still sanctioned by the law of the land, and the avaricious, dissipated propensities of the citizens, although it is directly opposed to truth, decency, virtue, conscience and God. 18.

Every ramification of the doctrine, *that one rational creature can become the property of another*, is totally repugnant to the rule of equity, the rights of nature, and the existence of civil society. Terrestrial governments are established for no other purpose, than to execute the divine will, to secure our individual immunities, and to promote the harmony and prosperity of those, whose national affairs they direct. Hence, the atrocious crime for which the men of 1776 declared George III. a tyrant, unworthy to reign over a free people, may be retorted upon themselves, and with the additional obloquy that results from their own censures attached to its perpetration.

Every attempt to palliate this enormity is nugatory. Of all his natural and inalienable privileges, the slave is virtually, if not actually divested; his life is of no value to him for he cannot devote it to any useful purposes; his liberty has altogether flown, for he is incarcerated only in an enlarged prison; and he is defrauded of all ability or capacity or opportunity to pursue the innocent and laudable enjoyments, which Providence may place within his attainment. Whatever may be the

18 When Columbia opposed the pretensions of England, she declared that all men have the same rights. After having manifested her hatred against tyrants, ought she to have abandoned her principles?

Othello.

legislative decision or permission, with whatever impious usurpations those who assented to it may be chargeable, the claim to a fellow-creature as property originated in the vilest depravity of man, is perpetuated by the hard-heartedness and self-delusion of sinners, and cannot be justified by the acts, however formal and numerous of any terrestrial government.

✓ The exhibition of our Brethren and Sisters in a public market for sale and hire; the examination to which they must submit that their condition may be ascertained, and the remarks which they must hear upon their varied capacities, are the greatest insult to decorum, the highest violation of rectitude, and the vilest outrage which can be offered to humanity. Justice frowns upon the obdurate transgressor, who has so far obliterated his senses as to be unable to distinguish rational creatures from Horses and Cows; yet these displays, transfers of human flesh animated by an immortal spirit, professed Christians behold without any pungency of soul; until the beneficence of the Gospel has vanished, and sordid gold becomes the centre of every affection and desire.

Reciprocity is a principle acknowledged by all mankind, incorporated with all our feelings, and adopted in all our intercourse, and when it is equitably and impartially administered, it furnishes a safe ground of conduct

in all our relative acts. *As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy reward shall return upon thine own head.** This retaliatory doctrine, demonstrates that the bondage of the human species, must be contradictory to truth and right; because they who are guilty of the highest oppression, would not admit the validity of the claim, were an attempt made to enforce it upon themselves 19.

What an intolerable evil! How incredible! ✓
How disgraceful! that men in the Land of Liberty and filling official stations under the authority of the Book, require to be instructed, that to steal, buy and sell men, women and children is contrary to the Gospel; that to defraud the labourer of his hire, to rob the mind of necessary light and the heart of indispensable melioration, and to doom the human race to labour lasting as their existence, without food, raiment, a habitation, and other

* Obadiah. 15.

19. There is nothing useful but what is just: there is no law of nature which makes one individual dependent on another: and all those laws which reason disavows, have no force. Every person brings with him into the world his title to freedom. Social conventions have circumscribed its use, but its limits ought to be the same for all the members of the community, whatever be their origin, colour or religion.† If you have a right to make another man a slave, he has a right to make you a slave.‡ If we have no right to sell him, no one has a right to purchase him.§

† *Le Geste.* ‡ *Rice.* § *Ramsay.*

necessaries to support life and recruit nature exhausted by endless fatigue; are totally incompatible with the precept, *do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God*;* and that all who engage in this odious and most criminal violation of the eighth commandment, should cease every pretension to Christianity.

Should Providence ever permit the same misery and wrong, in one instance only, to assail us which we have inflicted, the nation would as one man rise to arms. Could a single vessel from the Gold-coast arrive on our shores, with impunity escape, and carry away a hundred families of our white population; the injustice, the enormity, the cruelty and the abomination of the act would be dilated upon, until language had lost the practicability of illustrating the subject, and eloquence itself had ceased to interest. But nearly 200 years was this disgraceful procedure, tolerated and legalized, by successive generations of Columbians;—for a long time they declared that it was against their consent, the practice being enforced by foreign arbitrary power: but their insincerity is apparent; for as soon as Providence enabled them to discard all external jurisdiction, they voluntarily imbued their hands in Negro blood, and voraciously grasped the price of African souls. 20.

* Micah 6. 8.

20. Is it not shameful to speak as a philosopher,

Retaliation! How complete would be the petrification of a feeling heart, to see his wife and daughter in the rude hands of an unfeeling, mercenary debauchee, maintained, as long as convenient, for impure indulgences, and then transferred by the wretch, with the offspring of his illicit intercourse, *his own children*, to another unprincipled Tyrant, from him to receive similar insults, with him to realize the same degradation. You cannot contemplate without horror, the involuntary transportation of your family to Guinea; there to be debased in multiform wretchedness without hope, each member of the family severed from you at an impassable distance, and you obliged to form an unwilling connection with another, that you may generate *rational cattle* like to yourself, for the increase of your Tyrant's wealth.

From this view, you with abhorrence avert your eyes; you shudder at the mention of such detestable atrocity; you declare that every claim upon you, marked by such characteristics, is totally null, because it is founded upon a *lie*; you aver that all the constituted authorities, even all the people of every nation in Africa combined, could never trans-

and to act as a despot; to make fine discourses on slavery, and to annex as a commentary, an actual oppression. The legislative system ought to harmonize with the principles of the government. Does this harmony exist in a constitution reputed free, if slavery is sanctioned by authority?

Pinkney.

form this *fiction* into *verity*, and this *vilest* of all *thefts* into *justice*; and you would resentfully complain, that "this mischievous kidnapping, purchase, sale and transfer of me, as if I were a horse or an ox merely for labour, while I am not treated with as much care and kindness as that to which those beasts are accustomed, is the very quintessence of all *infernal brutality*." Your doctrine is irrefutable; it is *self-evident*; it is so true, that it can neither be *denied nor proved*.

Can you, therefore, hold a slave? *A sincere Christian* cannot engage in this malevolent commerce; this compound of all turpitude. *A Preacher of the Gospel* ought not to be patiently listened to even, who eloquently depicts the blessings of that *liberty with which Christ hath made us free*, while he holds his fellow-disciple, him to whom he administers the symbols of a Saviour's redeeming love, in a most dreadful and lacerating bondage. *An officer of the Church* cannot without the most deplorable ignorance of himself, pretend to believe and solemnly engage to inculcate the doctrines of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, and the Methodist Discipline, who enslaves, purchases, transfers, whips, neglects, starves, and by these accumulated wrongs, probably kills the purchase of Messiah's blood? *The Pulpit is dumb and the Lord's Table is polluted*; because Preachers and Lay-Officers need to be taught that the greatest possible

violation of the eighth commandment, cannot without the most awful delusion be reconciled with a credible profession of Christianity.

"From what class of persons however low and uneducated, can you find men so generally dull and senseless as to have no feeling to the wretchedness of personal slavery? What arrogance and blasphemy is it to suppose that Providence has not endowed men with equal feelings in all countries! Let us look to the words of our Saviour; let us deeply weigh one of the most splendid doctrines of the Christian dispensation, a doctrine, which served more than any other to illustrate the unparalleled beauty and grandeur of that most amiable of all religions; a doctrine, before which slavery was forced to fly; and to which doctrine, I attribute the memorable and glorious fact, that soon after the establishment of Christianity in Europe, human slavery was abolished. This doctrine is, *high and low, rich and poor, are equal in the sight of God!* This is a doctrine which requires only to be daily impressed on the heart of man to *extinguish the term of slave*; and accordingly, what all the ancient systems failed to do, Christianity accomplished; and, yet we find in the ancient systems of philosophy, a liberality and views of human rights as perfect as in any theories of the present day. To the pure light which this great doctrine of our Saviour diffused over the heart of man, the abolition of slavery must be ascribed."

Let Afric's sons before his image bow,
And weave their palmy garlands for his brow,
Who crown'd the work that Clarkson's zeal began,
And raised the negro to the rights of man.
Fox, call'd to office in an arduous hour,
Employ'd his ebb of life—his span of power,
To hush the storm of nations to repose,
To heal the long afflicted Lybian's woe,

¶ Charles James Fox.

G

From Christian's brows to wipe the sanguine stain.
And free his country from *the curse of Cain.*"†

"I rest this question on the ground of Religion and justice. A spirit of fanaticism and bigotry may be fairly urged on my opponents and not on me. Theirs are the very principles on which have been rested the grossest systems of bigotry and superstition that ever disgraced the annals of mankind. On what other principles was it that Mahomet sent forth his Mussulmen to ravage the world? Was it not these that lighted the fires of the inquisition? Have not both of these systems been founded on the notion of your having a right to violate the laws of justice, for the purposes of humanity? Did they not both plead that they were promoting the eternal happiness of mankind; and that their proceedings were therefore to be justified on the dictates of true and enlarged benevolence? But the religion I profess is of another nature; it teaches me first to do justice, and next to love mercy; not that the claims of these two will ever be really found to be jarring and inconsistent. When you obey the law of God, when you attend to the claims of justice, you will then also best consult and most advance the happiness of mankind. This is true, this is enlarged benevolence; whose seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her influence: all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

Some persons declare without reserve, that religion, and justice, and humanity command the abolition of slavery, but that they must oppose the measure because it is inconsistent with the national interest. What is this but to establish a competition between God

† *Martin Archer Shee.*

and Mammon, and to adjudge the preference to the latter? What but to dethrone the moral Governor of the World, and to fall down and worship the idol of Interest? Come, learn a new code of morality! We have discarded our old prejudices; we have discovered that religion, and justice and humanity, are mere rant and rhapsody. These are principles which Epicurus would have rejected for their impiety, and Machiavel and Borgia would have disclaimed as too infamous for avowal, and too injurious to the general interests of mankind. If God in his anger would punish us for this formal renunciation of his authority, what severer vengeance could be inflict than our successful propagation of these accursed maxims?

If we determine to surrender ourselves without reserve to the domination of hard, unfeeling avarice; to sell ourselves for gain; let us achieve some clearly profitable villany, some masterstroke of wickedness: we shall then be justified on our own principles; but slavery incurs the utmost guilt in pursuit of the smallest and most questionable profit, and discredits not your hearts only, but your understandings.

As slavery ought indisputably to be considered a most enormous crime; it is our duty to prohibit and punish, if we cannot effectually annihilate the perpetration of it. I can admit of no compromise when the commands of equity and philanthropy are so imperious. I wash my hands of the blood that will be spilled. I protest against it, as the most flagrant violation of every principle of justice and humanity. I never will desert the cause. In my task it is impossible to tire; it fills my mind with complacency and peace. At night I lie down with composure, and rise to it in the morning with alacrity. I never will desist from this blessed work.

¶ *Wilberforce.*

Theft is the acquisition of another's goods, without returning him a satisfactory equivalent: but the worst of all robbers is he who steals not the bodies only, but the life and the souls of men; and for this felony, no restitution or remuneration can be made.

✓✓ Every African introduced into this country was *kidnapped*. They never voluntarily entered a slave-ship; and had they even contracted to sell their personal freedom, and that of their posterity for ever, the contract was *void*; for by no compact, could they alienate their inherent rights. But the theft of the Father and Mother, in a Slave-holder's system of morals, authorizes him to *steal* the son and the daughter, through all generations.

Our horror at the robbery of the Negros in Congo, is mitigated by the distance at which the villany is performed; but how can men, who have been *kidnapping* coloured people, from their infancy in America, be so miserably self-deluded, so awfully blinded, as not to know that the highest sin on the Gold-Coast, when perpetrated in Columbia, is vastly aggravated, by the splendid illumination which we enjoy on all religious subjects—how can Christian Professors expose themselves to derision, by *gravely* declaring that Hawkins and his gang were *Negro-Thieves*, 300 years ago on the coast of Africa, but they who have practised his abominations, through all succeeding ages *here*, are *innocent Slave-holders*?

How *dare* Expositors of the Book attempt to persuade persons who hold Slaves, that the proceeds of *man-stealing* are now transformed into honest acquisitions; that *incurable injustice* on the Windward shore, by a voyage over the ocean, is transmuted into Christian integrity; and that a man who *kidnaps* a Parent is a *Monster of Hell*; but if he *steals* children, he is an *Heir of Heaven*? 21.

21. Every Slave in the Union, has been barbarously stolen; all the *traffic in Slaves* is irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity; and every *Negro-Dealer*, as *Moses* and the *Supreme law of the land* pronounce, is a *cruel THIEF*.

A man who would buy a stolen horse, when he was privy to the robbery, is innocent, compared with a *Slave-purchaser*; for the former, if convicted, will acknowledge his guilt; but the latter, with his accumulated iniquity, pleads that he is not guilty, while he *kidnaps* his neighbour; and that he abets not theft, by *receiving goods knowing them to be stolen*, though he beheld the *Trader rob the property*.

From the womb, the child is doomed to all the horrors of bondage, and its birth excites joy, only because it aggrandizes wealth; for a Tyrant grasps it, notwithstanding a Father's claim, a Mother's affection, and in opposition to the command of God, the law of nature, the dictates of equity, and the thunder of conscience. Thus *Professors* act, and seduce their progeny into the ungodly practice. *A Sinner redeemed by grace divine!* A chimera! His portion in Jesus delivered him not from *man-stealing*, and if there were no *Penitentiary*, he would purloin a horse or an estate: and to *steal a beast*, or to *defraud a man of a section of land*, is a vastly inferior crime, in the balance of the Sanctuary, than to *kidnap, buy, sell, or hold a Slave*.

Slavery is unlawful and unscriptural. A Christian must do unto others, what he would that others should do unto him; but no slave-holder would have others to enslave himself; therefore slavery is contrary to Christianity. *Love worketh no ill to his neighbour*; but slavery works the greatest ill: it is contrary to love.

"You are a professor of Religion; you believe that all mankind are brethren; that God is their Father; that Jesus Christ died for men; that men ought to glorify him in body and spirit; that it is just and merciful to keep the purchase of the blood of Christ in slavery! You are a Professor of Religion; you believe that every man is accountable to God, and that all mankind *must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account for the deeds done in the body*:—can you answer for the consequences of slavery? Alas! is there no contradiction in this profession? Can reason and conscience reconcile such a scheme? You are a professor of religion; you believe that love to God and all mankind is the true spirit of Christianity; that *this commandment have we from him; that he who loveth God, love his brother also*; and that to detain your fellow-creatures in slavery, is the most excellent way to shew your love to them? Is it love to little children to keep them in ignorance and nakedness, to grow up like the wild ass' colt, while you are forcing their parents to labour for you and your's? Is it kindness to women that induces you to trample upon virgin modesty, and all the maternal affections? Is it your love to

It is of no importance by what means the Slave was acquired; whether by our own robbery, purchase from the Thief, donation from the primary kidnapper, or from him to whom he was transferred, or by bequest; *the guilt is identical*: if the rational creature, a Slave be found in our hand; we are involved in all the criminality of *man-stealing*, and shall not escape the retribution of God, when in *righteousness, the Son of MAN shall judge the world*.

the American Black-man which gives rise to those institutions which consign him to eternal servitude?

You are a Minister of the Gospel; you preach *deliverance to the captives*; peace and salvation to a fallen world through Jesus Christ; you denounce the *wrath of God which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness*; and yet you hold your fellow-creatures in slavery? *Thou that condemnest others and dost the same thing thyself, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?* You are a Minister of the Gospel! you are engaged to recommend the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus, both by precept and example—does slavery give mankind the highest idea of the excellency of religion?

Ah! where is glorying now? What advantage hath the Christian Slave-holder over the Sceptic Philosopher, the Jew, the Turk, or the Pagan? *What reward have ye? what do ye more than others? do not even the Publicans, all the nations, the same?*

Slavery is the source of all kinds of injustice; for it is incompatible with equity and civil rights, and is the greatest of all tyrannies. The monarchies and aristocracies which have been so often derided by politicians, as oppressive and violent, are *independence*, in comparison of that bondage, in which the American Black-man is kept. It exterminates the rights of women and children; for it is a mere state of barbarism, in which neither the delicacy and chastity of sex, nor the debility and ignorance of children, are regarded. All the physical and commercial distinctions of labour and property are destroyed by it; for slavery is a monopoly, which takes from another what one has no right to claim, and withholds that which belongs to him." •

• *Snethin.*

What conformity with the moral code, does a *Flesh-dealer* exhibit? *Thou shalt not kill*: slavery in its most benign form, is slow-paced murder. *Thou shalt not steal*: this law, in the comprehension of the Israelites, solely prohibits *man-theft, detaining persons in perpetual bondage. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*: no man can possess a slave, until he has *virtually* sworn, that men, women and children are *brutes. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing which is thy neighbour's*;* the Slave-holder not only sinfully desires, but actually steals them, with his neighbour also; thus consummating his guilt by the most daring rebellion and transcendent depravity.

Every dictate of God's word is flagrantly disobeyed; for reciprocal equity is banished, as soon as slavery appears. *Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, nor rob him*: this unceasing cheating and robbery commence when the child first breathes, and ends only at his death.† *Thou shalt not oppress him who is poor and needy, lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be a sin unto thee*; is stealing a man, and giving him no necessaries, *oppression*?‡ *Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor*

* Exodus 20. 13—17. † Leviticus 19. 13.

‡ Deuteronomy 24. 14, 15.

oppress him ; they kidnap the Stranger, to chain him in endless vexations and calamities. § Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back of fraud. crieth : and the cries of them who have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth : the Slave-Tyrant's reapers are never paid.* Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless : the incessantly afflictive experience of coloured females and orphans, neither eloquence can display, nor imagination comprehend. † I will come near to you to judgment ; and I will be a swift witness against false-swearers, and against those who oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and who turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of Hosts ; with this menace, the Slave-holder, according to his morality, has no connection ; for a slave is not a hireling, and being a brute, can neither be a widow nor fatherless, and he cannot be a stranger turned aside from his rights, he never possessed one, and he was born on the plantation : but the Man-Thief may recollect, that his false-swearing affords him the only basis for these excuses. || In the midst of thee, have they dealt by oppression with the stranger : is it oppression or Christianity, to kidnap men, and ceaselessly torment them,

§ Exodus 22. 21.

* James 5. 4.

† Exodus 22. 22. || Malachi 3. 5.

until they die. ¶ *Rob not the poor, because he is poor; nor oppress the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those who spoiled them:* are slaves rich? is not oppression daily added to their distresses? has a Slave-holder the fear of God before his eyes? does he anticipate remuneration, with the measure that he meted misery? * *Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, take away the yoke:* if the Lord had commanded *Flesh-Merchants* to act precisely contrary, how exactly would they have complied! They bind the bands of wickedness they aggravate the heavy burdens, they incarcerate the oppressed, they increase every yoke, they starve the hungry, they banish the poor, they pillage the naked, they despise their brethren, they contemn the African, they converse in lies, and they multiply the afflictions of the wretched. Yet they have the impudent hypocrisy to pretend that they are *Messias' Disciples!* ‡ 22.

¶ *Ezekiel 22. 7*

* *Proverbs 22. 22, 23.*

‡ *Isaiah 58. 6, 7, 9, 10.*

22. But the hiring of slaves involves the sin of stealing them, as it is an encouragement for the kidnapper to repeat his crime: and the payment of the Labourer as well as the Master will not exonerate any man from a participation in the guilt. He aids the *Man-thief*; for he supports another who defrauds his neighbour. who robs him of his wages, and who thereby perpetuates his oppressions.

From the dawning of life until aged decrepitude, barbarity, and injustice, are the Slave's uniform portion ; his existence is abbreviated, and dissolution is his only comfort. His terrestrial pilgrimage is toil and pain ; his corse is interred without sympathy ; no Christian recollections mingle around the grave which entombs the sleeping dust : he lived in scorn, his death excites no regret but the loss of gain, and he is deposited in oblivion, until the morning of the resurrection. 23.

The Renter of Slaves is generally more rigid and severe even than the Kidnapper himself : for the latter shows them, the kindness which is indispensable to promote his interest, and thus in some measure and at certain intervals admits one cheering ray into the gloom : but the Hirer's sole study is to ascertain by what process he can drive the poor creatures so as to procure from them, during the period of possession, for their death he is not responsible, the utmost quantum of labour, at the least practicable expence. Although he retains no slaves as the produce of his own theft, he unites with a *Man-Merchant*, pays him for his iniquity, and joins to defraud the poor of his recompense, and to augment the agonies of the miserable. Some other cause, and not religion or conscience hinders him from *Negro-stealing* ; and he who rents a slave, is partaker of his crime who stole him, and can make no juster pretensions to the character of a Christian than the *Kidnapper* himself : *for he hates instruction, and casts the words of God behind him ; when he sees a thief, then he consents with him ; he gives his mouth to evil, and his tongue frames deceit* † Therefore he is a wicked sinner.

† *Psalm* 50. 17—19.

23. *To the law and to the testimony : if they*

✓ Notwithstanding all the political evils in our country combined are trifling, when contrasted with the social mischief which slavery diffuses; and although its compound iniquity far exceeds any other sin against God and our neighbour that we can possibly practise: for it is a most audacious rebellion and falsehood against Jehovah; it is impious disobedience to the Saviour, and it is cruelty, pol-

— speak not according to this word, it is because they have no light in them.

Isaiah 5. 20, 23. Isaiah 1. 4. Isaiah 10 1, 2. Isaiah 5. 8. Ezekiel 22. 12, 13. Jeremiah 22. 13,† 17. Isaiah 59. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15. Luke 11. 46, 52. Joel 3. 6—8. Jeremiah 5. 26, 27. Isaiah 56. 11. Jeremiah 5. 30, 31. Isaiah 29. 13. Amos 1. 6, 9—11. and 2. 6, 7, 12. and 4. 1—5, 12. and 8 4—6. Zechariah 7. 8, 10. and 8. 16, 17. Jeremiah 7. 4—6, 8—11. Jeremiah 6. 13—15. Ezekiel 22. 23—31. Isaiah 1, 11, 12—20, 23, 28.

The delineation of Jewish *Man-stealers*, 2500 years since, is a most graphical portraiture of Christian *Negro-Pedlars*! and it might be presumed, that these prophetic narrations of the iniquity which existed among the children of Israel, with the denunciations that accompany them, were recorded for imitation and an encouragement to duty, rather than for admonition and an impediment to crime.

The serious Inquirer for *truth*, ought to peruse most attentively every Scripture which is alluded to or cited. Scott, in his Commentary, boldly affirms, lucidly explains, and irrefragably demonstrates our doctrine.

† *This single text might convince any Christian of the iniquity of Slave-holding.* — Garretson.

lution, and improbity towards man ; yet Preachers, Church-Officers and Christian Professors either participate in these enormities, or palliate them to disguise their horrors, or by their silence connive at the perpetrators, and by acknowledging them as Messias' disciples, sanction their ungodly transactions.

Many transgressions incompatible with the *dicta* of the Book, may be upbraided with all apostolic fervor : but if a Preacher desirous that *he may be pure from the blood of all men, shuns not to declare the whole counsel of God ;* introduces *Negro-stealing*, within the walls of the temple ; the reproaches, the contempt, the hatred, the persecution and the menaces which overwhelm him, evince that Slavery is a *Legion of Devils. O Jesus, Son of the most High God, send them into the swine !*

It is impossible to amalgamate a system which boldly aims to overthrow the jurisdiction of Heaven, with due submission to Jehovah's authority, or to prove him who joins in such audacity, the humble docile follower of the Lamb ;—much less can the quintessence of cruelty be combined with the beneficence of the Book, or a man void of all sensibility be animated with Apostolic love ; equally inefficient would be every attempt, to connect the perennial impudent falsehoods of slavery, with the unimpeachable uniform veracity of divine Revelation, or to demonstrate that an unvarying Falsifier is an *acceptable*

Disciple of the heart-searching God, who desires truth in the inward parts ;—and not less preposterous would be the endeavour, to cement the continual unrighteous impositions of *Man-stealing* with the constant unbounded rectitude of heart, lip, and life, of body, soul, and spirit, which the Gospel demands, or to evince that *the same mind is in him which was also in Christ Jesus*, and that Paul's integrity directed the malign proceedings of an *impenitent, ceaseless, cruel Thief!*

✓ That Man-stealers can possibly declare before the Church, that they believe the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, and the Methodist Discipline ; that they can venture to preach concerning justice, mercy, and pardon upon evangelical principles ; that they can unblushingly presume to serve at the Table of the Lord ; or that they can calmly seat themselves around the sacred board—is a manifest demonstration of that obduracy of heart, which sin naturally engenders, and of that blindness of vision, which nothing but the Holy Spirit's energy can practicably remove.

Our life past may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles : now it is high time to awake out of sleep, to discard this iniquity, to repent, and to reform this atrocity ; or we may fearfully anticipate that, *He who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, will come unto us quickly, and will remove*

the candlestick out of his place, except we repent; that he will lay his ax unto the root of the tree, hew it down, and cast it into the fire: and that He whose fan is in his hand, will thoroughly purge his floor and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them. The fruit is a destruction of every devotional temper, the tree is daring impiety: the tree is incessant cruelty, the fruit is unparalleled insensibility to human woe; the tree is invariable deception, the fruit is unintermitted falsehood; and the fruits are every diversifiable unrighteousness, the tree is uninterrupted injustice: therefore, as all the fruits are atrociously and detestably corrupt, the tree itself must be incorrigibly rotten.

As no participant in this complicated enormity can possibly be innocent of the guilt which it comprises; every Slave-holding Professor, is either so wretchedly besotted by the influence of sin as to be wilfully ignorant of the true nature and requisitions of the Gospel,

or he has assumed a profession of Christianity as a cloak for his malignant and ungodly conduct; hence, whether he be perversely deluded, or a contumacious deceiver, unless he manifest a sincere contrition, by immediately desisting from all concern with a combination of impiety, barbarism, falsehood and dishonesty, he ought *de facto*, to be excommunicated from the Church of God.

CHAPTER IV.

SLAVERY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE GOSPEL.

SLAVERY is adverse to all the principles and requisitions which the Scriptures reveal. The purchase, or sale, or vassalage, or involuntary hire of men or women destroys the rights which are granted to the human family by the God of Nature; extinguishes all capacity for the fulfilment of terrestrial duties and a compliance with divine injunctions; nullifies the evangelic law of love and equity; and is unequivocally denounced by the Holy Bible, as the highest degree of criminality connected with this temporal state of probation.

"The holder of Slaves supposes, that no other rights belong to them than those of natural life, with the food and raiment necessary to their subsistence. But scripture and reason concur in teaching us that various other rights belong to them. It cannot be denied that the labour of a grown person under any proper direction, is of far more value than so much food and raiment as are necessary to his subsistence; and that he is, therefore, entitled, to more than these as his wages. Whoever denies him this right violates the law and exposes himself to the curse of God. *Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal: knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.*" The children of a slave have the same right

* Colossians 4. 1.

to receive a religious education from him, which the children of any other person have to receive that benefit from their parent, who is bound to *bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*† Every person as a rational creature, has a right to be exempted from the ordinary engagements of his secular business, during the time which he ought to employ in the public and private exercises of God's worship. When a master pretends to have the power of keeping one whom he calls his slave from a due attendance on God in his ordinances, he blasphemously assumes the power of robbing God. He is chargeable with the crime of Pharoah, in refusing to let Israel go, and serve the Lord. Negros have the same right with others, to be freed from restraints that are unnecessary to any good end, or in matters of mere indifference, in which the word of God has left men free. Such privileges may be sometimes allowed to slaves by way of special indulgence ; but their claim to them as their just right, is not admitted by the system of slavery which now exists ; and the enjoyment of some of them is evidently incompatible with the system.‡

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. It is a golden rule which ought to be constantly in the minds of all men ; it recommends itself to every man's reason and conscience, as completely wise and good. Every one implicitly appeals to it as worthy of the highest regard, when his own rights are violated by his neighbour ; nor must the slave-merchants be considered as insensible to the excellence of this moral precept, when their own persons, families or interests are concerned. Nay, would not the indignation and anguish of the Slave-Merchant himself be almost inexpressible, were his affectionate wife and dutiful children stolen

† *Ephesians 6. 4.*

‡ *Brown's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.*

from his bosom, and sold as slaves for the remainder of their lives; and surely if any man upon earth deserves to be so treated, it must be who has made it his business to *trade in the persons of men*,* and to enslave his innocent fellow-creatures. But if the Sovereign Lord of all regard the cry of the prisoner, the voice of the captive, the lamentation of human misery; if he avenge the blood of his servants so cruelly tortured and murdered, by the hard-hearted task-masters appointed over them; and if he say, *O earth, cover not thou their blood.*†

“The unreasonableness of perpetual unconditional slavery may easily be inferred from the righteous and benevolent doctrines and duties taught in the New Testament. It is contrary to that excellent precept laid down by the divine Author of the Christian institution, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* A precept so finely calculated to teach the duties of justice, to enforce their obligation and induce the mind to obedience, that nothing can excel it. No man, when he views the hardships, the sufferings, the excessive labours, the unreasonable chastisements, the separation between husbands and wives, between parents and children, can say, were I in their place, I should be contented. I so far approve this usage, as to believe the law that subjects me to it, to be perfectly right: that I and my posterity should be denied the protection of law, and be exposed to suffer all these calamities; though I never forfeited my freedom, nor merited such treatment, more than others. No; there is an honest *Something* in our breasts which bears testimony against this as unreasonable and wicked. I find it in my own breast, through all the changes of time, the influence of custom, the arts of sophistry, and the fascination of interest. It is a law of my nature; a

* Ezekiel 27. 13.

† Wood's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.

law of more ancient date than any act of parliament, and which no legislature can ever repeal. It is a law inscribed on every human heart; and may there be seen in legible characters, unless it is blotted by vice, or the eye of the mind blinded by interest. Should I do any thing to countenance this evil, I should fight against my own heart; should I not use my influence to annihilate it, my own conscience would condemn me."

"Slavery naturally tends to destroy all sense of justice and equity. It puffs up the mind with pride; teaches youth a habit of looking down upon their fellow creatures with contempt, esteeming them as Dogs or Devils, and imagining themselves beings of superior dignity and importance, to whom all are indebted. This banishes the idea, and unqualifies the mind for the practice of common justice. If I have all my days, been accustomed to live at the expence of a black man, without making him any compensation, or considering myself at all in his debt, I cannot think it any great crime to live at the expence of a white man. If I rob a black man without guilt, I shall contract no great guilt by robbing a white man. If I have been accustomed to think a black man was made for me, I may easily take it into my head to think so of a white man. If I have no sense of obligation to do justice to a black man, I can have little to do justice to a white man. In this case, the tinge of our skins, or the place of our nativity, can make but little difference. If I am in principle a friend to slavery, I cannot, to be consistent, think it any crime to rob my country of its property and freedom, whenever my interest calls, and I find it in my power. If I make any difference here, it must be owing to a vicious education, the force of prejudice, or pride of heart. If in principle a friend to slavery, I cannot feel myself obliged to pay the debt due to my neighbour. If I can wrong him of all his possessions, and avoid the law, all is well."

"The holding of Negros in perpetual slavery is inconsistent with the honour and brotherly love, which Christians acknowledge to be due to all men. *Honour all men. The Lord make you to increase and abound in love to one another and to all men.*" We are to love and honour all men as partakers of the same human nature, as descended from the same original parent. *God hath made of one blood all nations, and hath determined the bounds of their habitations.* Also as having immortal souls capable of saving grace, capable of being members of Christ and temples of the Holy Ghost. But the slavery, in which the negros are now detained, indicates hatred and contempt, instead of honour and love; while it is invidiously restricted to those of a certain country and complexion; it deprives them of several of the common rights of man; and exhibits them to be bought and sold like beasts.

"The evil consequences which have constantly attended the slavery of Negros, are sufficient to make every Christian abhor it. It is shocking to relate the many instances, disgraceful to human nature, of the dreadful punishment inflicted on these miserable captives for slight offences, of the excessive labour to which they are compelled, of the scanty and unwholesome allotment that is given them of the necessities of life, and of other sorts of cruel treatment. The education of slaves in the principles of our holy Religion, is almost universally neglected. Hence, especially where they are numerous, they are grossly ignorant of religion and openly immoral in their practice. Thus a race of heathens or infidels is propagated; whose example and conversation must be an infectious and destructive plague to the rest of the inhabitants of the land. Nor is there any reasonable prospect of the reformation of Negros in a state of slavery; for the masters are generally possessed with

* 1 Peter 2. 17. 1 Thessalonians 5. 12.

a notion, that Negroes are unteachable, and that knowledge would render them more intractable ; and the negroes are naturally prejudiced against the instructions of their oppressors.”*

“ Liberty conducts to every thing that is sublime in genius and virtue, while slavery extinguishes all. What sentiments of dignity or of respect, can those mortals have for themselves, who are considered as cattle, and who are often staked, by their masters, at cards or billiards, against barrels of rice or other merchandize. What can individuals perform when degraded below the condition of brutes, overwrought, covered with rags, famished by hunger, and for the slightest fault torn by the bloody whip of an Overseer? Slavery supposes all the crimes of tyranny, and commonly engenders all its vices ; virtue can hardly thrive among men who have no consideration, who are soured by misfortune, dragged into corruption by the example of crimes, driven from all honourable or supportable ranks in society, deprived of religious and moral instruction, placed in a situation where it is impossible to acquire knowledge, or struggling against obstacles which oppose the developement of their faculties. In their place, perhaps, we should have been less virtuous, than the virtuous among them, and more vicious than their worst characters ; for their vices are the work of the nations called Christian.”†

“ Where is the charter found to sanctify
Despotic, base, unqualified controul,
O'er *strength and will*, by man enthroned o'er Man:
In Revelation's code you find it not,
Nor in Creation's multifarious laws.
The will of Heaven, when unreveal'd by Christ,
Or by the sacred organs of his word,
Is sought and found in the primeval light,
Which Nature sheds through her expanded spheres.
But when with Gospel-day this light combines,

* *Brown's Dictionary of the Bible.* † *Gregoire.*

The Fool, who doubts, who asks for clearer proof,
 Must hood-wink'd be indeed, and darkness love.
 That such resistless evidence obtains,
 To evince Demoniack Slavery's turpitude,
 With all the powers of brightest Truth appears,
 To the impartial mind that views each source,
 Whence the full streams of testimony flow.
 Each text of sacred Writ enjoining love,
 Affection, justice, mercy, meekness, peace ;
 And piety establishes this truth,
 That *Slavery contravenes the law of God !*^a

Revealed religion is predicated upon the natural equality, the individual responsibility, the reciprocal duties of the human family, and the paramount claims of the most high God to the services, and the obedience of all his creatures. Slavery does not merely diminish the energy, and mitigate the obligation of the sacred scriptures, but it totally nullifies all the fundamental principles of Christianity.

Paul assured the Areopagites, that *God made of one flesh, all nations of men.*[†] The dissimilarity of the rational species, upon the pretext of colour, is consequently a chimera : and if the members of the various countries of the globe are derived from a different origin, they cannot be bound by the same laws as ourselves. This aggravates the iniquity of Slaveholding to an inconceivable degree, because it pre-supposes the right to grasp every reasonable creature who bears not our own external

^a *Daniel Bryan.*

[†] Acts 17. 24—26.

conformation, or whose features differ : but the same principles in re-action would justify every country in enslaving its neighbours, and every individual, who could effect it, in stealing his inferior or dependent.

" A slave is a free moral agent legally deprived of free agency, and obliged to act according to the will of another free agent of the same species ; and yet he is accountable to his Creator for the use which he makes of his own free agency. When a man, though he can exist independent of another, cannot act independent of him, his agency must depend upon the will of that other ; and therefore he is deprived of his own free agency : and yet, as a free agent, he is accountable to his Maker for all the deeds done in the body. This comes to pass through a great omission and inconsistency in the legislature. They ought farther to have enacted, in order to have been consistent, that the slave should not have been accountable for any of his actions ; but that his master should have answered for him in all things, here and hereafter. That a slave has the capacities of a free moral agent will be allowed by all. That he is deprived of the exercise of these powers, evidently appears from his situation. That he is accountable to his Maker for his conduct, will be allowed by those, who do not believe that human legislatures are omnipotent, and can free men from this allegiance and subjection to the King of Heaven."[¶]

Slavery is the legitimate offspring, and the frequent cause of a rejection of the BOOK. Christian Instructors may justly be alarmed ; they cannot be *silent* upon *man-stealing*, much less excuse, defend, or engage in it, without a

[¶] *Hicc.*

virtual admission that divine revelation is not our sole infallible directory. 24.

Men calumniate the coloured people, that they may claim a right to enslave them ; and for justification of their culpable conduct. The accusers are both judges and executioners.

" A thousand times have they tortured the sacred writings, to find an apology for slavery, although the scriptures declare, that all are children of the same heavenly Father : all mortals are sprung from the same family ; religion admits of no distinction. In the church, the poor man raises his humiliated form, and the rich regard him with respect ; † there the auditors are reminded of their primitive equality, before a God *who is no respecter of persons* ; and there the heavenly oracle proclaims, that we ought to *do to others that which we wish to be done to us*. The christian religion alone places the weak under the protection of the strong ; and consoles the unhappy, whatever be their country, their colour or religion. The parable of the Samaritan imprints on slave-holders the seal of reprobation ; and is an aknthemata against every person who excludes from the circle of his charity a single individual of the human race.* History attests, that the friends of despotism and impiety are always the defenders of slavery and irreligion.†

Slavery extinguishes all the rights of man : from his equal rank in creation, the slave is

24. " If the plague had rewards and pensions to bestow, it would find apologists ; but in defending the poor and the oppressed, as we must struggle against power, riches and frenzy, we may expect nothing but calumny, injuries and persecutions."

Frapolosarphi.

‡ Paley. • Luke 10. 25—37. † Gregoria.

ignominiously debased to a *brute*; and the immunities which naturally inhere to him, are all stolen. The Thief becomes a despot, and the kidnapped immortal is buried in terrestrial vassalage, without hope and without end. His life is at the disposal of a barbarian, who may render it as wretched as he will uncontroled, or shorten its duration by every refinement of torture: of his freedom he is altogether divested: and his labour, his comforts, his children, and his all, are the *property* of the most guilty violator of the eighth commandment. What peculiarly daring effrontery do men display, when they assume the garb of religion, and deny its most obvious principles, its most luminous prescriptions, and its most tremendous denunciations. Can he be a Christian who abrogates the *BOOK*?

“ The principles of conjugal love and fidelity in the breast of a virtuous pair, of natural affection in parents, and a sense of duty in children, are inscribed there by the finger of God; they are the laws of heaven: but an enslaving law directly opposes them, and virtually forbids obedience. The relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, are formed by divine authority and founded on the laws of nature. But it is in the power of a cruel master, and of a needy creditor, to break those tender connections, and for ever to separate those dearest relatives. This is ever done at the call of interest or humour. The poor sufferers may expostulate; they may plead; may plead with tears; their hearts may break; but all in vain. The laws of nature are violated, the tender ties are dissolved, a final separation takes place, and the duties of these relations can no longer be performed, nor

their comforts enjoyed. Would these slaves perform the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children ; the law disables them, it puts it altogether out of their power. In these cases, it is evident that the laws of nature, or the laws of man are wrong ; and which, none is at a loss to judge. The divine law says, *whom God joins together, let no man put asunder.* The law of man says to the master of the slave, though the divine law has joined them together, you may put them asunder when you please. The divine law says, *train up a child in the way he should go ;* the law of man says, you shall not train up your child, but as your master thinks proper. The divine law says, *honour your father and mother, and obey them in all things ;* but the law of man says, honour and obey your master in all things, and your parents just as far as he shall direct you. Should a master command his slave to steal, and he should presume to disobey, he is liable to suffer every extremity of punishment, short of death or amputation, from the hand of his master ; at the same time he is liable to a punishment equally or more severe, if he obey. He is bound by law, to do that if his master pleases, for which the law condemns him to death.

“ A slave, being a free moral agent, and an accountable creature, is a subject capable of religion and morality ; but deprived by law of the means of instruction in the doctrines and duties of morality, any further than his master pleases. It is in the power of the master to deprive him of all the means of religious and moral instruction, either in private or in public. Masters actually exercise this power, and restrain their slaves from the means of instruction, by the terror of the lash. Slaves have not opportunity, at their own disposal, for instructing conversation ; it is put out of their power to learn to read ; and their masters restrain them from other means of information. Masters designedly keep their slaves in ignorance, lest they should become too knowing to answer

their selfish purposes ; and too wise to rest easy in their degraded situation. In this case, the law operates so as to answer an end directly opposed to the proper end of all law. It is pointed against every thing dear to them ; against the principal end of their existence. It supports in a land of religious liberty, the severest persecutions ; and may operate so as totally to rob multitudes of their religious privileges and the rights of conscience.

“ A slave is bound to spend his life in the service of another, to whom he owes nothing, is under no obligation ; who is not legally bound to find him victuals, clothes, medicines, or any other means of preservation, support or comfort. A slave is bound to spend his life in the service of his master, and he is not indebted to his master, is under no obligations to him. How can he possibly be indebted to him, who deprives him of liberty, property, and every thing dear to a human creature ? All he receives is the bare means of subsistence ; and this not bestowed until he has earned it ; and then not in proportion to his labour ; nor out of regard to him, but for selfish purposes. This bare support the master is not bound by law to give ; but is left to be guided by his own interest or humour ; and hence the poor slave often falls short of what is necessary for the comfortable support of the body. The master is the enemy of the slave ; he has made open war against him, and is daily carrying it on by unremitted efforts. Can any one imagine, that the slave is indebted to his master, and bound to serve him ? Whence can the obligation arise ? What it is founded upon ? What is my duty to an enemy, that is carrying on war against me ? In some circumstances, it is the duty of the slave to serve ; but it is a duty he owes himself, and not his master.

The master inflicts upon him, all the punishment the human body is capable of bearing ; and the law enports him in it : if he does but spare his life and

limbs, he dare not complain, none can hear and relieve him, he has no redress under heaven. When we consider these things, it must appear *unjust to the last degree*, to force a fellow creature, into this wretched situation; and confine him and his posterity in this bottomless gulf of wretchedness for ever. Where is the sympathy, where the tender feelings of humanity? Where is the heart that melts not at this scene of woe? Who is not fired with indignation, to see such injustice and cruelty countenanced by civilized nations, and supported by the sanction of the law? *

If holy resentment is excited at the support given to such criminality by national regulations, what Christian commiserates not those, who defend this villany, and who *consent* with a *Man-stealer*, by acknowledging him an acceptable believer; thus transforming the eternal reprobation which God has affixed upon slavery into a ratification of their ungodliness. Are not these ecclesiastical Officers, *blind watchmen, shepherds who cannot understand, looking to their own way, every one for his gain from his own NEGRO quarter?*† Did all the Preachers faithfully delineate this iniquity, and the curse which attends it, slavery would immediately expire. ✓

As individuals, we are accountable to God for all our actions; but by denying to our fellow creatures, the use of their reason, the acquisition of knowledge, and the exercise of their powers, we interpose a claim between

* Rice.

† Isaiah 56. 10. 11.

the Creator and man, equally insulting to Jehovah, disgraceful to the church, and injurious to our neighbour. By refusing him requisite instruction, we extinguish his capacity, and by chaining his will, we preclude his obedience to the divine commands. Ere long eternity opens to our incredulous eyes; *the Lord of the servants cometh, and reckoneth with them*; the Kidnapper and his Slave, the Legislator and the Preacher stand before the righteous Judge. The *Man-stealer* pleads *interest* as his apology: the *Property* excuses himself upon the impracticability of fulfilling his duties: and the Legislator urges the exigency of the case, and the bad policy of emancipation. The Minister is addressed: didst thou inculcate, that the Slave Merchant was the greatest criminal in society? didst thou enjoin the exhibition of love, and justice, and mercy? didst thou *preach deliverance to the captive*? didst thou warn the Lawgiver of his usurpation, in enacting laws subversive of my supremacy, contradictory to my word, derogatory to thy nature, and condemned by thy conscience? No, Lord—*I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth*. Thou a Christian and a Slave-holder! thy portion is with thieves. Thou a man and not obey my commands! but *thou didst not know thy Lord's will, thou shalt be beaten with few stripes*. Thou a Legislator, and overturn the law of God! *Thou didst love and make a lie*: drown

him and his *policy* in everlasting fire. Thou a Watchman, and not admonish them: *cast ye the unprofitable servants into outer darkness.*
 GOD BE MERCIFUL TO US SINNERS!

Slave-holders plead that they are Christians. In what principles does Christianity consist? Buying souls, kidnapping children, tormenting women, brutalizing men, robbing the labourer, and oppressing the innocent captive; then are they indeed *Saints*!

But the Book unequivocally declares, that to enslave a man is the highest kind of theft; to purloin children is the compound of all robbery, as it steals a Father's joy, a Mother's tenderness, a Brother's delight, and a Sister's affection; to excruciate a female by stripes or by violation, is the height of barbarity; to divest man of his rational characteristics is the most diabolical impiety; to defraud the friendless and overpowered dependent of his just recompense, is the very mass of all injustice; to destroy feminine modesty is the source of all other crimes personal and relative; to profane the sabbath absolutely disavows the authority of God, and salvation by Christ Jesus; and to prolong human existence in agony, the mind bereft of all consolation and the body of needful support is a concatenation of crime indescribable. Can the perpetrators, the defenders, the compromisers, the participators, and the connivers, who by any mode protract

such inexpressible flagitiousness be Christians ? 25.

The Book condemns this turpitude as the most atrocious criminality : and no man can momentarily admit, that unerring rectitude sanctions a system of iniquity. Whether we advert to the motives, the objects, or the results of slavery, it is totally incompatible with Christianity.

Slave-holding is a substitution of Mammon for God. Avarice originated and perpetuates man-stealing. Wealth is the sole desire of every flesh-merchant ; and all *Traders in the persons of men*, exhibit conduct, which is as essentially different from the devotional, philanthropic, and equitable demands of the gospel, as the purity of Paradise is dissimilar to the depravation of Pandemonium.

Are any persons so lamentably blind, that they cannot discern the anti-christianity of robbing the rights of man, the impiety of *turning the blind from the way*, disobedience in rendering all sacred ordinances a nullity, cruelty in the diversified pain with which they have burdened their servants, and dishonesty in falsehood, fraud, and stealing, who should

25. Sceptics, Infidels, and Worldlings ridicule the endeavour to combine Slavery and Christianity ; and acknowledge that it is utterly impracticable, to compound Gospel Morality, Columbian Republicanism, Justice and Humanity, with the traffic in human flesh, and blood, and souls.

expose their delusions, and rouse them from their stupor? *The Minister of the Sanctuary*. 26.

Persons through Satanic delusion, will hear the most solemn verities, unaffected. An Expositor of the scriptures may enforce justice and mercy ; but the Slave-holder avows, that he is a righteous man, for he only bought his Negro and kidnapped the children ; he did not sail to Africa and transport them : he alleges, that he is merciful, for he bestows upon his slaves, *meat once daily*, his neighbours give them none. A Preacher should demonstrate, that his pretended justice is a cheat ; his mercy is savageness ; and that *he who turns away his ear from hearing the law. even his prayers are an abomination to the Lord. He regards iniquity in his heart, the Lord will not hear him.* But if the PULPIT, the *Trumpet gives an uncertain sound, none can prepare himself for the battle.*

To *pray and kidnap !* to commune and rob men's all ! to preach justice, and *steal* the laborer with his recompence ! to recommend mercy to others, and exhibit cruelty in our own conduct ! to explain religious duties, and

26. The clergy, by their vocation, are the messengers of truth ; they ought to watch society, to expose its errors, and bring the wicked back to truth and virtue ; if their conduct be otherwise, the public sins will fall on their head. They know not the truth, or they dare not reveal it, and are therefore, partners in national crimes.

Cugoano.

ever impede the performance of them ! to propound the example of Christ and his Apostles, and declare that a Slave-holder imitates them ! to enjoin an observance of the Lord's day, and drive the slaves from the temple of God ! to inculcate every social affection, and instantly exterminate them ! to expatiate upon bliss eternal, and preclude sinners from obtaining it ! to unfold the woe of Tophet, and not drag men from its fire ! are the most preposterous delusion, and the most consummate mockery. 27.

Slavery is a flagrant violation of every law of God, nature, and society ; it cannot be reconciled with the gospel ; and he who *ever* acts in direct opposition to the Messias' government, and who indurates his soul against the impressions of that LIGHT, which would convict and regenerate him, cannot be a genuine disciple of HIM, who when the *hour was come*, invoked his Father, *Sanctify them through thy truth ; thy word is truth !*

27. These reflections are calculated to disoblige those who are interested : but regardless of consequences, without the least dislike to any man living, and actuated only by a love to truth, and the advancement of Christianity, I protest against such abuses. I have received no affront, conceived no disgust, I have pleaded the example of others. I have soothed myself, I have endeavoured to reconcile my conscience, but *what is man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?* Simpson.

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CHAPTER V.

EXCUSES FOR SLAVERY EXAMINED.

THE whole defence of Slavery is comprized in a plea of *right* or *apology*. Every argument upon these principles is nugatory ; and many of them may be effectually retorted. They all may be reduced to these allegations.

The antiquity and extensiveness of man-stealing ; the design of God that the descendants of Ham should be servants of servants ; Jewish example ; the silence of the New-Testament upon slavery ; the title acquired by purchase ; the injustice of depriving men of property without an equivalent ; the legal impediments to emancipation ; the dangers attending a general liberation ; and the impracticability of safely effecting a manumission.

Ancient and universal practice justifies no transgression ; prophecy is neither the rule of duty nor a vindication of crime ; Christ is our exemplar ; the Book condemns involuntary servitude ; no claim to man as property is valid ; men should resign their thefts, and make restitution ; all civil laws which annul the ordinances of God, are a non-entity ; the path of duty is safety ; and tyranny with avarice predominates ; therefore, no method is devised by which Columbian Slaves ! may enjoy the rights of man.

✓ "Negros being descendants of Ham, some have thought their contemptuous treatment of them countenanced by Noah's curse.* But this prophecy does not include all Ham's posterity, and will not serve as a warrant to enslave them : because it is not a rule for the direction of our practice ; but the prediction of a future event. The greatest crimes have been foretold ; the treachery of Judas and the crucifixion of Christ ; but the wickedness of committing these sins was not lessened.

" It is much insisted on that the Israelites held slaves, either bought or taken captive ; whom their masters kept, exchanged or disposed of, as their own goods ! But the Jews were not allowed to hold any of their brethren in perpetual slavery ; but individuals only of heathen nations. The moral law of love to mankind was not less obligatory under the old Testament dispensation, than it is under the New ; but God granted the members of the Jewish State a right to the perpetual service of those idolatrous individuals, whom they should buy † But this will no more warrant people of other states to hold their fellow-men in perpetual slavery, than the grant which God made the Israelites of the jewels of the Egyptians, or of the lands inhabited by the nations of Canaan, will authorize any people to take possession of the lands or wealth of their neighbours. God may give a positive command which is an exception from the moral law with regard to human property or life ; but this is his prerogative ; and if Creatures pretend to do so, they impiously affect equality with God." ‡

✓ " The example of faithful Abraham,§ and the law of Moses,|| are adduced. It is argued, that since Abraham had servants born in his house and bought with money, they must have been servants for life,

* Genesis 9. 25. † Leviticus 25. 44—46.

‡ Brown's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.

§ Genesis 17. || Leviticus 25.

like our negros : and hence it is concluded, that it is lawful for us to purchase heathen servants, and if they have children born in our houses, also to make them slaves. From the law of Moses, the advocates for perpetual slavery contend, that the Israelites were authorized to leave the children of their servants, as an inheritance to their own children for ever : and hence, it is inferred, that we may leave the children of our slaves as an inheritance to our children for ever. If this was immoral in itself, a just God would never have given it the sanction of his authority ; and if lawful in itself, we may safely follow the example of Abraham, or act according to the law of Moses. Abraham was commanded to circumcise all who were born in his house, or bought with money : he obeyed the command without delay, and actually circumcised every male in his family. This law of circumcision continued in force ; and by the law of Moses, it was not repealed, but confirmed. Now, to the circumcised were committed the oracles of God ; and circumcision was a token of that covenant, by which, among other things, the land of Canaan, and their various privileges in it, were promised to Abraham and his seed ; to all who were included in that covenant. But all were included, to whom circumcision, the token of the covenant, agreeably to God's command, was administered. By divine appointment, not only Abraham and his natural seed, but he who was bought with money of any stranger that was not of his seed, was circumcised. Since the seed of the stranger received the token of this covenant, he was included and interested in it ; and the benefits promised were conferred upon him. Those persons bought with money were no longer looked upon as uncircumcised and unclean, as aliens and strangers ; but were incorporated with the church and nation of the Israelites : and became one people with them, God's covenanted people. The divine law enjoined upon the Israelites, thus to circumcise all the males born in their houses ; then if the purchased servants had any children, their masters

were bound by the law to incorporate them into their church and nation. These children then were the servants of the Lord, in the same sense as the natural descendants of Abraham were; and therefore according to the law they could not be made slaves.* Instead of being authorized, the Israelites were evidently forbidden to enslave their servant's children; and therefore so far from proving the lawfulness of our enslaving the children of the Africans, the practice is clearly condemned as criminal. In the law of Moses, no mention is made of the children of these servants, or that they should be servants, or any thing concerning them; because they were already provided for by the law of circumcision. The word *forever* is evidently limited by the nature of the subject; and the sense is, *they shall serve you and your children as long as they live, or until the Jubilee*. These scriptures have been frequently and wickedly pressed into the service of Mammon: but this formidable artillery may be fairly wrested from the enemy, to the destruction of the hosts of Mammonites.†

✓ "No formal reproof of slavery occurs in the New Testament. Other vices prevailed at that period, which are not expressly reproofed: but they were certainly condemned by the Redeemer and his Disciples, as evidently contrary to their doctrine. Polygamy and divorce were allowed and practised, yet no express prohibition of them is recorded; but in many passages of the Gospel it is necessarily implied. To detain our fellow-men in perpetual slavery is unjust, from many scriptures, particularly from the Apostle's exhortation: *Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal: knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven: neither is there respect of persons with him.*‡ The word translated *equal*, signifies *equality*: importing that masters ought to behave towards their servants not only with strict justice, but with mildness and benignity, as man ought to deal with man."§

* *Leviticus* 25. 38—55. † *Rice*. ‡ *Colossians* 4. 1. *Ephesians* 6. 9. § *Brown's Dictionary of the Bible*

This command alone is sufficient to confute and denounce every *Man-Thief*. A Slaveholder's *justice* defrauds his neighbor, of his wife, his children, and their labour, deprives them of all religious instruction, and robs them of every terrestrial comfort. His *equalizing beneficence* destroys in all civil and moral relations, his stolen dependents. Notwithstanding he simulates that he is the follower of those, *who continued in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers, and who parted their possessions and goods to all men as every man had need.** Can it be believed, that he who thus displays his *nonconformity* to Paul's injunction, is an *acceptable* member of the same "church of Christ which daily improved not in numbers only, but in the zeal and fervour, holiness and charity of its members; beginning a kind of heavenly life upon earth, and being even in their worldly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder of their very enemies." Neither of the Apostles, nor of the Disciples, nor of the 120 nor of the 3000 Pentecost Converts, nor of the 5000 Believers, who saw the miracle performed upon the lame man, nor of the multitudes who were of one heart and one soul, nor of the Priests who were obedient to the faith, were *Man-stealers*.† Peter and John were *not* kidnappers;

* Acts 2: 40—47. † Acts. 3. 4. 5. Chapters.

silver and gold have I none. Joses Barnabas, though a Cyprian, and all those upon whom was great grace, were not Negro-Pedlars; they sold lands and houses, but no souls. Paul was no Slave-Driver; these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them who were with me: we wrought with labour and travail night and day. A Slave-holder has no juster claim to the Christian character, than Demas, who forsook the Apostle, for the love of the present world; or Alexander the Copper-Smith, who did him much evil. Of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words.†*

"The FOOL who doubts, who asks for clearer proof, Must hood-wink'd be, indeed, and darkness love."

This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

The apologists for tyranny state, that Paul advised servants to be contented with their servitude, and obedient to their masters; whom, though he charges to use their slaves well, he commands not to set them free; and that the Apostle exhorts bond-servants or slaves to abide with God in that condition: whereas if slavery be sinful, they should not remain in vasalage.‡

"Christians were at that period under the Roman yoke, the government of the heathen; who were watching every opportunity to charge them with designs against the government, to justify their bloody persecutions. In such circumstances had the Apostle proclaimed liberty to the slaves, many of them would have been exposed to certain destruction, and the

* Acts 20. 34. 2 Thessalonians 3. 8. Philippians 3. 17.

† 2 Timothy 4. 10, 14, 15. § 1 Corinthians 7. 20—24,

christian cause might have been ruined, without freeing a single man : this would have been the height of madness and cruelty. It was wise and humane merely to hint, *If thou mayest be made free, use it rather.*"†

" This clearly intimates that the persons in slavery whom he addressed might use the means to obtain their freedom. But although a man, from the impossibility of procuring his liberty, may continue with patience and holy contentment in bondage ; yet he who detains him in that state, is chargeable with injustice and oppression." ‡

No Man-stealer could have belonged to the church of Christ which was at Corinth : for this admonition which is triumphantly adduced as an unanswerable defence of Slave-holders is almost equivalent to the law of Moses, which prohibits any person from attempting to obstruct a slave in his escape, and enjoins upon all to aid his flight from bondage. Paul knew that the exactions and degradation of captivity were totally incompatible with his preaching ; he therefore advised slaves, to procure their freedom without delay ; the means their own judgment might regulate, in subordination to the dictates of the Book. The wealthy primitive Christians bought the liberty of converted slaves ; but though they were thus purchased, Paul instructs the buyers, that they were not *property* ; for he commands the manumitted brethren to be no longer unconditional servants, as they were the Lord's freemen. He who attempts to arrest a run-away slave, is a cruel

† Rice. ‡ Brown's Dictionary of the Holy Bible,

and base *Negro-Thief*; and not less culpable than the Tyrant, who scourges his returned slave to an inanimate corpse; for he is an accessory.

The bondage of Onesimus and the high character of Philemon are often cited to sanction the abominations of slavery. Onesimus was a servant for debt, who absconded previous to its discharge; yet evangelical philanthropy exonerated him from all obligation.† When a Christian kidnapper! can prove that his slaves owe him *any thing*, the plea derived from the servitude of Onesimus shall be heard; but while he has done all possible wrong to his brother, and has stolen his life, his liberty, and his happiness; as long as his whole conduct is “incurable injustice;” we shall affirm, that Man-stealers and their co-adjutors are the unlearned and unstable, who wrest this, as they do also the other scriptures to their own destruction: and that like Simon Magus, Slaveholders and their abettors have neither part nor lot in the matter; but are in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity; for *their hearts are not right in the sight of God*.

“It is asserted, that Negroes were made slaves by law, they were converted into *property* by an act of the legislature; and under the sanction of that law they were purchased; they therefore became my property, I have a legal claim to them. To repeal this law, to annihilate slavery, would be violently to de-

† *Paul's epistle to Philemon.*

stroy what I legally purchased with my money, or inherit from my Father. It would be equally unjust with dispossessing me of my horses, cattle, or any any other species of property. To dispossess me of their offspring would be injustice equal to dispossessing me of the annual profits of my estate."

"Many years ago, men, being deprived of their natural right to freedom, were made slaves, and by law converted into property. This law was wrong, for it *established iniquity*; it was against the law of humanity, of common sense, of reason, and of conscience. It was however a law; and under the sanction of it, a number of men, regardless of its iniquity, purchased these slaves, and made their fellow-men their property. The question is concerning the liberty of a man. He himself claims it as his own property. He pleads that it was originally his own; that he has never forfeited, he could not alienate it; and therefore by the common laws of justice and humanity, it is still his own. The purchaser of the slave claims the same property. He pleads, that he purchased it under the sanction of a law, enacted by the legislature; and therefore it became his. Who has the best claim? Did this property belong to the legislature? Was it vested in them? If legislatures are possessed of such property as this, may another never exist!" Amen and Amen. "No individual of their constituents could claim it as their inherent right; it was not in them collectively; and therefore they could not convey it to their representatives. Was it ever known, that a people chose representatives to create and transfer this kind of property? The legislature were not, could not be possessed of it; and therefore could not transfer it to another; they could not give what they themselves had not. Does the property belong to him, who received it from a legislature that had it not to give, and by a law which they had no right to enact; or to the original owner, who could never forfeit his right? If a law

should pass to sell an innocent man's head, and I should purchase it: have I in consequence of this law and this purchase, a better claim to the man's head than he has himself? To call our fellow-men, our property, is a gross absurdity, a contradiction to common sense, and an indignity to human nature. The owners of slaves are then *licensed robbers*, and not the just proprietors of what they claim: freeing them is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner; it is suffering the unlawful captive to escape. It is not wronging the master, but doing justice to the slave, restoring him to himself.

"You say, that emancipation would be unjust, because it would deprive men of their property: but is there no injustice on the other side? Is nobody entitled to justice, but slave-holders? Let us weigh the injustice in an even balance. Here is a man deprived of all property, of all capacity to possess property, of his own free agency, of the means of instruction, of his wife, of his children, and of every thing dear to him; and a man deprived of 80 or a 100 pounds. Who is the greatest sufferer, and which is treated with the greatest injustice? Emancipation would only take away property that is its own property, and not ours; property that has the same right to possess us, as we have to possess it: property that has the same right to convert our children into dogs, and calves and colts, as we have to convert theirs into these beasts: property that may transfer our children to strangers, by the same right that we transfer their's.

"In America, a slave is a standing monument of the tyranny and inconsistency of human governments. He is declared by the united voice of America, to be by nature free, and entitled to the privilege of acquiring and enjoying property; and yet by laws passed and enforced in these states, he is retained in slavery, and dispossessed of all property and capacity of acquiring any. They have furnished a striking instance of

a people carrying on a war in defence of principles, which they are actually and avowedly destroying by legal force; thus using one measure for themselves and another for their neighbours. All men are by nature free, and entitled to freedom, until they forfeit it. Now to enact that men are slaves, is to fly in our own face, to contradict ourselves; to proclaim before the world our inconsistency, and to warn men to repose no confidence in us? What credit can we ever expect? What confidence can we repose in each other? NONE."

"Are we rulers? How can the people confide in us, after we have thus openly declared that we are void of truth and sincerity; and that we are capable of enslaving mankind in direct contradiction to our own principles? What confidence in legislators, who are capable of declaring their constituents all free men in one breath; and in the next, enacting them all slaves? In one breath, declaring that they have a right to acquire and possess property; and, in the next, that they shall neither acquire nor possess it during their existence here? Can I trust my life, my liberty, my property in such hands as these? † Will the colour of my skin prove a sufficient defence against their injustice and cruelty? ‡ Will the particular circumstance of my ancestors being born in Europe, and not in Africa, defend me? § Will straight hair defend me from the blow that falls so heavy on the woolly head? || If I am a dishonest man,

* *The Legislatures of the Slave-holding States have not the confidence of Christians, because they believe not the BOOK*

† *You are an IDIOT, if you trust men who swear that a Negro is property.*

‡ *They would paint you black, or steal you white, if they dared.*

§ *They would rather kidnap you, than an African.*

|| *Yess, until they are not afraid to strike.*

If gain is my God, and this may be acquired by such an unrighteous law, I may rejoice to find it enacted, but I never can believe that the legislature were honest men; or repose the least confidence in them, when their own interest leads them to betray it. I never can trust the integrity of that judge who can sit upon the seat of justice and pass an unrighteous judgment, || because it is agreeable to law; when that law itself is contrary to the light and law of nature."†

"Justice ought to extend her protection with rigid impartiality to the rich and to the poor, to the powerful and to the humble. A legislative contract for the continuance of slavery must have been void, even from the beginning; for it is an outrage upon justice, and only another name for fraud, robbery and murder; as well might an individual think himself bound by a promise to commit an assassination. Our proceeding on such grounds, would infringe all the principles of law, and subvert the very foundation of morality. Slavery is a mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bid defiance to every regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction."*

"Man-stealers excuse themselves upon the plea, that if the slaves were emancipated, they could hardly be restrained from disorders which might endanger the public peace—No apprehension of this kind can excuse our continuing in an unjust and inhuman practice. The fear of man bringeth a snare. When the path of duty is plain, Christians should resolutely adhere to it, leaving the event to the Providence of God."†

"Of two evils, we should chuse the least: this is a good rule, when applied to natural evils; but with moral evils, it has nothing to do, for of these we c use neither; if one be natural and the other a moral evil.

|| VERILY, they are "ROGUES ALL."

‡ Rice.

* William Pitt.

† Brown's Dictionary of the Holy Bible.

we must always chuse the natural evil ; for moral evil, sin, can never be an object of choice. Enslaving our fellow-creatures is a moral evil ; and the natural evil effects of emancipation can never be a balance for the moral evils of slavery. These evils are chargeable on us. Hence, we should be sensible of the guilt of our conduct, and persist in it no longer — This is a very powerful argument against slavery, a convincing proof of its iniquity. It ruins God's creatures whom he has made free moral agents, and accountable beings ; who still belong to him, and who are not left to us to ruin at our pleasure."§

"Why ought slavery to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice. Why is injustice to remain for a single hour?"¶ "If the situation of Negroes were as happy as servitude could make them, I must not commit the enormous crime of selling man to man ; for which not one reason can be given, that is consistent with POLICY, HUMANITY or JUSTICE."† "Never was a system so big with wickedness or cruelty ; in whatever part of it you direct your view, the eye finds no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It is the prerogative of slavery to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs ; it robs war of its generosity, it deprives peace of its security. You have the vices of polished society without its knowledge or its comforts ; and the evils of barbarism without its simplicity. Its ravages are constant and unintermitted in the extent ; in the continuance, universal and indiscriminate. No age, no sex, no rank, no condition is exempt from the fatal influence of this wide-wasting calamity ! Thus it is the full measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness ; and scorning all competition or comparison, it stands without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence."‡

§ Rice.

¶ William Pitt.

† Charles James Fox.

‡ William Wilberforce.

Yet in Columbia ! Gospel Ministers and Professing Christians not defend only, but engage in this unparalleled villany ! *My bowels, my bowels ! I am pained at my very heart ; my heart maketh a noise in me : I cannot hold my peace.*

Constantine, in the year 313, published an edict ; which declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by Maxentius ; commanding, under the severest penalties, all who held them in captivity to restore them to their liberty. In the year 316, he enacted another law, and addressed it to Protogenes, Bishop of Smyrna ; by which he permitted all masters to enfranchise their slaves in the presence of Christians, assembled with their pastors in the church, without recurring to the prætors and consuls. " Thus the manumission of slaves, which before was attended with great difficulties and expence, became easy, and not chargeable ; the masters being obliged to attend only at the church." Christianity will always abolish slavery ; no danger attaches to an immediate and universal emancipation ; and the only effectual mode to eradicate the evil, is to destroy *thirving by law* ; to follow Constantine's example ; to *break every yoke* ; to *let the oppressed go free* ; and to fulfil Paul's direction, *let him that stole, steal no more.**

* Ephesians 4 28.

The ancient and universal extension of slavery is an effectual argument against the system. Its origin in days of moral darkness affords a powerful plea against its equity and continuance; and the support which modern Man-stealers derive from this example is visionary. Servitude in Abraham's family was very different from the degradation of our colored population. Eliezer of Damascus was the Patriarch's steward, and his servants, had he died childless, would have been his heirs.* But as they worshipped Abraham's God, and were included in the covenant made with him, by circumcision, they were governed with paternal benevolence. The Heads of Families, when they lived a wandering life, were civil governors of all who served them. ‡3.

From the conduct of Isaac and Jacob, no principle can be deduced in defence of slavery. Modern Slave-holders shall have all the consolation which they can extract from the long-protracted generality of man-stealing, when they can evidence their title to the approbation which the Lord expressed of Abraham.†

28. The original Hebrew states not, that the Domestics whom Abraham bought with his money, or who were descended from them, were involuntary servants: for the word includes no such idea, as modern slavery. Our laws, opinions, practice and management of these degraded sons of wretchedness, all declare, that in our judgment, they are merely cattle in human shape.

* Genesis 15 3.

† Genesis 18. 16—19.

By universal antiquity, an incessant violation of every law of decency, virtue, and religion might be established as the highest duty of man.

How astonishing the fact ! Professing Christians transform the Book into a minister of unrighteousness ; and when impelled from one subterfuge resort to another. If Nimrod's oppressions are urged against their impiety, they take refuge in Abraham's faith ; and if the Patriarch's justice and judgment which they never exemplify, inculcate their condemnation, they shelter themselves under the prediction of Noah, which denounced servitude as the inheritance of Canaan's posterity : thus perverting the word of God, into a sanction of their abominations.

The declaration that Canaan's descendants shall be servants is thrice repeated ; but Ham's other posterity are not included ; for Ham's name is not even introduced. ‡ The denunciation of Noah has been remarkably verified in the history of the Canaanites, who from the period when the iniquity of the Amorites was full, have seldom been released from the exactions of foreign tyrants. But if the prophecy be referred to the descendants of Ham generally, the curse has not been experienced by the people. The partial slavery of Negroes will not invalidate the truth ; because no ancient and accessi-

‡ Genesis 9. 25—27.

the part of the inhabited globe is so completely unknown, as the interior of Africa. 29.

Would the passage bear the construction which Slave-dealers assert; their criminality would not be diminished. The mercy of God has not revealed to us, the knowledge of future occurrences, if the actions which shall produce the events detailed include guilt in the perpetrator, that we may unite in the completion of them; but that the truth of the Scriptures may be indubitably established.

This transmutation of the word of God, by claiming a prophetic curse, or a controverted doctrine, or a dubious scripture, as a rule for our actions, and a defence of our sins, thereby authorizing any man to distort the Book, into a prediction of crimes which he had resolved to commit, is a most dangerous and reprehensible delusion. God has most emphatically attested, that his wrath shall be effused upon Babylon; but the persons who execute the judgment will doubtless perform the grand design, from selfish and ambitious views. Christians will mark the progress of the ven-

29. How many Negros are sold and bought like beasts in a market, and conveyed from one quarter of the world, to do the work of beasts in another! This however in no measure vindicates the covetous and barbarous oppression of those, who thus enrich themselves with the products of their sweat and blood. God will severely punish such cruel injustice. How can it consist with love to our neighbours, to hold them in slavery?

Scott.

geance, and rejoice in the destruction, but they will not actively participate in the horrors of the tremendous overthrow. 50.

Negro-dealers adduce the Mosaic law and Jewish example as an excuse for their avarice ; but this originates in ignorance of the ancient economy, or misinterpretation of the Book, or a falsification of the facts, or corrupt deductions from the scriptural narrative.

Every practice which requires a sophistical interpretation of the sacred volume to countenance it, must be *sin*. The path of duty is illumination : and in morals and religion, any action which obliges us to search after arguments to pacify us in the perpetration of it, is a transgression of the divine command.

The theocratical establishment was appointed by God, to preserve the children of Israel a distinct nation. To them were committed the divine oracles, that the fundamental princi-

50. Martin Luther and Henry VIII. were employed in diminishing the Papal supremacy. The Reformer engaged the anti-christian rule with the armour of God ; his was a bloodless contest, waged from celestial motives, conducted with evangelic ardour, productive of the most glorious triumphs, and rewarded with honour and immortality. A Tyrant's acts, through the dispensations of an all-benevolent God, involved a similar result : but his arms were terrestrial power, his war, a combat for superiority, his impulse, lasciviousness, his fervor, the offspring of ambition and sensuality, and his memory is consigned to unmitigable execration.

ples of all religion and morality might not be totally banished from the earth. The severest regulations respecting their intercourse with idolaters were consequently indispensable. All the inhibitions of their Lawgiver which referred to the Gentiles were promulged, to preserve the Israelites pure from the surrounding contagion; and it was necessary that the worshippers of false Gods who might reside among them, or who might be subdued in war, should be considered as people inferior to themselves, on account of their ignorance of Jehovah, the only true God. They were therefore authorized to purchase and retain such persons as slaves. But the Jewish writers attest, that Heathens who had been thus enslaved, if they continued idolaters at the close of the first year, were returned to the country whence they were procured; if they remained in the land, having acknowledged the Lord God of Israel, unless they voluntarily consented to stay with their masters, and the recognition of this fact was most solemn and public, they were manumitted at the return of the Sabbatical year; even if they had thus devoted themselves to the service of others, at the sound of the Jubilee trumpet, every man throughout the land of Canaan, was instantaneously free. Had not this been Jewish practice, it would not have attested the events which it was destined to prefigure.

The Mosaic law has been most grossly distorted for avaricious purposes. By it the Jews were authorized to purchase the neighbouring Idolaters for bond-men, but they were not sanctioned in enslaving their children. * The offspring could not have been retained in bondage ; because every child born in the family was circumcised at 8 days old, became a member of the Covenant, and was heir to all the blessings of Palestine, as much as a real descendent of the Father of the faithful. A Jew could not steal, sell, or make merchandize of one of these, more than he could have violently transported one of his brethren for sale to the land of the Ishmaelites.

Jewish history affords an insurmountable objection to slavery. Joshua and the Elders, to punish their deception, doomed the Gibeonites to perpetual attendance at the temple ; but Saul's oppression of their descendents was the cause of a three years' dearth in the land. † The sword, pestilence, and famine, were all denounced against Judah, in consequence of their unrighteous exactions from the widow, the orphan, the impoverished, the stranger, and those whom they had enslaved. ‡ How seductive is avarice ! Notwithstanding the Jews had not long been released from Chaldean vassalage, speedily after their return to Canaan, they be-

* Leviticus 25. 44—46.

2 Samuel 21. 1—14.

† Joshua 9. 3—27.

‡ Jeremiah 34. 8—22.

gan to oppress the poor, and to defraud the wretched ; contrary to the law of Moses, and in direct defiance of their own sensibilities, agitated still with the remembrance of the miseries which in banishment they had endured.* If involuntary servitude be defensible upon moral principles, high example would sanction it ; but it would not be known that slavery existed among the Jews, if the Prophets had not menaced them for this atrocious criminality. So far is the Mosaic code from legalizing the cruelty which Slave-dealers constantly exhibit, that a considerable proportion of the Jewish Legislator's mandates are solely directed to the inculcation of merciful tempers, and the exhibition of generous affections towards inferiors.

To impress the children of Israel with a permanent sense of all the horrors of captivity, to imbue them with the most active sympathy for human wo, and to nurture the most ardent desires and zeal to mitigate the distresses of their fellow-men ; they were continually reminded of the degradation, wretchedness, and oppressions, under which their ancestors in Egypt so long groaned, and whence they were delivered solely by the mighty arm of JehovahNiissi. The recollection of their former national servitude, and the miracles which were requisite to deliver them from their Task-masters, must have inspired in every pious Jew, a holy and insup-

* Nehemiah. 5 1—13.

erable aversion from the principle and practice of slavery, and of every iniquitous approach to the infliction of the wo. Soul-Merchants can designate no Heaven-delegated Prophet, no exemplary Priest, no Christian Apostle, no martyred Disciple of the Lamb that was slain, and neither of them upon whom was great grace, of whom *the world was not worthy. strangers and pilgrims on earth*, who was a Man stealer's co-adjutor. From the exalted abodes of perennial felicity, in which the spirits of the just made perfect dwell, if they know what passes upon earth, they must feel all holy indignation, that *men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth*, who *suppose that gain is godliness*, should pervert their characters, opinions, and example, into a mass of hard-heartedness, worldly equivocations, and the "highest kind of theft;" with the direct view of procuring a sanction from the pious dead, for the iniquitous practices of the ungodly living.

Columbians plead justification for stealing and enslaving Africans; they are of a different colour, and not Christians, therefore we are authorized to kidnap them for our avarice and luxury. Such is an Algerine's defence for selling every 'Infidel dog' whom he can grasp; they are not Mussulmen; the tinge of his skin shews that he is not of the Prophet's family; steal and torment him. Thus men depart from the ways of righteousness! their principles are deceptive; their desires are after covetousness;

their sollicitudes are earthly, sensual, devilish ! and to them the gospel is hid, because the god of this world hath blinded their minds !

Christ and the Apostles are our sole pattern. The admission of varied temporary indulgences among the Israelites, as a basis for our conduct, would totally destroy society. If the example of David, Solomon and others, is to be valid, in cases where they acted without or against the directions of the Mosaic code,* the gospel is nugatory, and Christ has died in vain.

At the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, to render its prescriptions more authoritative, the Lord enforces its requisitions by reminding them of his mercy and power, and of their misery ; claiming obedience for his character, his loving-kindness, and their deliverance. *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.*†

A company of Ishmaelites, with a horde of stolen captives, approach the habitation of a man who conscientiously desires to fulfil the law of God ; they offer to sell him an Egyptian ; a Levite accosts him, and asks, if he can reconcile the purchase of that man as his slave, with all the horrors which are included in the declaration of Jehovah, as the exordium of the law, and with the mercy which the code invariably requires ; with this recollection could he buy a bond-man ?

* Deuteronomy 17. 17.

† Exodus 20. 2.

Cainites with a number of kidnapped Africans, traffick slaves at a Columbian's door. Say to him, were not you oppressed by a foreign tyrant, you rebelled and obtained your freedom, how can you enthrall these outcasts? dare you purchase these heirs of wo, who were stolen at their birth, and can you enslave them for ever? You swear, that all men are born free; you believe, that man-stealing is the greatest crime; you know, that slave-holding is contrary to equity, humanity, and reciprocal benevolence; you feel, that you would most ardently reprobate and resist such conduct if it were attempted respecting you; and your conscience assures you, that God will requite you, as you have injured your fellow-man: but he buys, and enslaves these wretched victims of avarice! *A Christian Republican!* No charity can induce the belief that a man who acknowledges the excellence of pure and undefiled religion, can be so incurably blinded, or that the moral sense can be so completely extinguished, that he is incapable to perceive the difference between evangelical righteousness, and incessant cruelty, rapine and oppression.

No disciple of Messias can plead Jewish example. *Call no man Master upon earth.* Negro-dealers must demonstrate, either that the Lord and his primitive disciples were Slave-holders, or that their doctrines and precepts countenance the system.

As HE who had not where to lay his head, or his Apostles were not human flesh weighers, Oppressors plead, that the New Testament is altogether silent upon slavery; and if it were so condemnable, it would have been pointedly reprobated. Our Lord did not admonish Man-stealers, by their own appellation, to desist from their ungodliness; but he who can reconcile the Redeemer's doctrines, and Apostolic injunctions with American bondage, can join heaven and hell—to him, vice and virtue, equity and injustice, kindness and cruelty, oppression and benevolence, thieving and probity, infidelity and religion, all are identical. 31.

31. All defence of slavery, upon the silence of the New Testament respecting this crime, is baseless.

Matthew 5. 7. 31—48. and 6. 12, 14, 15, 19—21, 24. and 7. 1, 2, 12, 16, 20. and 11. 31—42. and 18. 21—35. and 19. 16—30. and 22. 34—40. and 23. 23, 24. and 25. 31—46. Mark 10. 17—31. and 11. 15—18. Luke 4. 16—22 and 6. 27—38. and 10. 25—37. and 11. 46—52 and 12. 13—21. and 18. 18—30. and 19. 1—10. John 13. 1—20. and 15. 12—14. Acts 2. 41—47. and 4. 32—37. and 17. 24—28 Romans 1. 1—3, 17—29. and 12. 9, 10 and 13. 8—10. Corinthians 7. 21—33. and 13. 4—7. Ephesians 4. 25—32. and 6. 9. Colossians 4. 1. 1 Timothy 1. 10. 2 Timothy 3. 2—8. Philemon 10—21. James 2. 1—10. and 5. 4. 1 Peter 4. 8. 1 John 2. 15—17. and 3. 14—18. and 4. 20, 21. Revelation 18. 13

ALL things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them: for this is the LAW and the Prophets. If any man can deduce the injustice, the barbarity, and the oppressions of

Negro-Dealers aver, that they have a just title to their slaves. How can a claim to the human race as property, be valid? All our terrestrial possessions were included in the original grant made to Adam in Paradise,* and to Noah and his Sons after the deluge.† But *human life*, with all the concomitants which are necessary to a fulfilment of its objects, was excepted: therefore, no title, by any lapse of time, or any distance of transfer, or any terrestrial authority, ever could be made to the persons of men.

‘They *innocently* and *honestly* obtained possession of their slaves, and if the State liberate them, they ought to be remunerated.’ What obduracy! Men require to be paid for ceasing from the highest kind of theft; and demand to be requited for delivering that which they stole. How can a Slave-Driver be innocent or honest, in his connection with his dependents? No domestic tyrant believes his own assertion, he feels, that he is a cruel Oppressor! and it

man-stealing, from this fundamental rule of social reciprocity, his moral alembic must combine properties vastly different from any extractor yet discovered.

These citations either immediately reprobate covetousness, extortion, and tyranny, or they inculcate justice, philanthropy, and mercy; and it is absolutely impossible to conjoin these directions and examples with the bondage of men, or to explain them in any manner, by which Slave-holders are not most indignantly and awfully censured.

* Genesis 1. 26—30.

† Genesis 9. 1—7.

is equitable, to manumit his slaves. Instead of rewarding men for stealing no more, the whole that they have *filched* from the poor Negro, with ample addition for all the misery and cruelty which he has endured, should be righteously exacted.

The Legislatures of some States have obstructed the easy emancipation of slaves.— Slave-holders elect men to enact iniquitous laws, and exonerate themselves by the legislative proceedings. Every voter for a public officer, who will not destroy the system, is as culpable as if he participated in the evil, and is responsible for the protraction of the crime. If a slave cannot be liberated in one State, he may in another, and it is an individual's duty to exonerate himself. No human law must be obeyed when it contravenes the divine command ; but slavery is the combination of all iniquity, and therefore every man is obligated not to participate in its corruption.

In all cases obedience to the divine will combines the most certain safety. God will protect those who act in conformity with his commands : and as no plea can avail for the continuance of slavery one moment, since its iniquity is so prodigious—the most secure mode to be absolved from danger, is “ *cease to do evil and learn to do well.*” The national difficulty is not from emancipation, but from servitude. *Negro-Pedlars* say that if the colored people were *free*, the property, and lives of

the other inhabitants would be jeopardized. This is a gratuitous assumption ; and will not excuse the sin. Some Negroes may be so vitiated that they would commit depredations, for as the slaves have never seen any practices in their tyrants but oppression, it would be preposterous not to anticipate that the uninstructed servant, would act like him, whom he has seen honored in proportion to the quantum of his theft. A man in the Slave-states who claims no Negroes is *despised* ; if he has kidnapped a score, he is a *Gentleman* ; but if he has stolen a hundred, he is a *NABOB*. 32.

Every plea and excuse in support of Slavery being invalid, originating in depravity, sustained by corruption, and productive of all diversified ungodliness, no *Christian* can allege, or defend them. or practice the iniquity which they are formed to exculpate.

✓ 32. How shall we expel the evil ? Colonization is totally impracticable. The enactment of a law to exclude Slave-holders from every Public Office, would instantly destroy the pestilence which ravages the body politic :—all other regulations are futile.

CONCLUSION.



MEN AND BRETHREN!

HEAR the word of admonition. If such be the origin, character, defence and effects of slavery, such its contradiction to sound reason, such its opposition to the rights of man, such its aversion from every affectionate sensibility, and such its condemnation by the Word of God, how can you participate in its wickedness? Is it not almost incredible, that citizens of the United States, the only land of civil and religious freedom, should have established a system of servitude which extinguishes every personal right, nullifies every sacred obligation; and that Christians should maintain this atrocity? 'Tell it not in Gath. Messias' Disciples profess that they are probationers for that *kingdom and glory* to which God has called his children. But adaptation is indispensable to our admission at Heaven's gate. Can any rational mind believe that a man who has passed his threescore years and ten in the spirit and practice of all the merciless oppressions which are the invariable concomitant of slavery, is capacitated to engage in the devotions, to exemplify the righteousness, or to manifest the love which reign in the boundless regions of eternal felicity?

That worship of God upon earth he restrained; that equity he never cultivated; that charity he always counteracted. A meetness for Paradise, he has consequently not attained. How can the Christian Church longer tolerate so shameless an absurdity as a profession of religion, and eternal *man-stealing*? 33.

The Officers of the Church are undeniably censurable. Of two sects of Christians, the public formularies expressly reprobate slavery, as the highest crime which can be perpetrated, and any connection with it, as ample evidence, that the parties are not followers of the Lamb. This is their FAITH: what are their works? Publish it not in Askelon.

You are now, all called to repentance.—Preachers, Elders, Exhorters, Deacons, Leaders, and Professors: how can you deny your own creed? how can you falsify your own faith? how can you profess that slavery is the highest crime against God and Man, and practise it? how can you promulge that a Slave-holder is the most guilty Thief, and notwithstanding yourselves continue to steal, and affirm that you are sanctified? how can you declare that “upon the principle of equity, no man can be a Slave-holder, that all Slave-holders are Negro-Stealers, the Devil’s Dogs

33. How did the Devil persuade men that a Slave-holder was a Christian? This is a problem totally incapable of solution, by any human ingenuity or wisdom

and Children," and nevertheless yourselves be characterized as merciless Flesh Merchants? how dare you most solemnly admit *your own Faith*, promise to comply with it through all opposition and persecution, and notwithstanding, neither admonish the guilty, nor inculcate the Truth, but engage in *Man-stealing*, and sustain the Christian Negro-Thief in his religious Profession?

The Church of God groans. It is the utmost Satanic delusion to talk of religion and slavery. Be not deceived: to affirm that a Slave-holder is a genuine disciple of Jesus Christ, is most intelligible contradiction. A brother of him who went about doing good, and steal, enslave, torment, starve, and scourge a man because his skin is of a different tinge! Such Christianity is the Devil's manufacture to delude souls to the regions of woe.

You are Christians! you profess that you feel *bowels of mercy*; and hold in *free-born* slavery the descendants of stolen Africans! Your Christianity is a *non-entity*. You are a Class-Leader! you ask your Class-mate, how he has lived during the past week?—he informs you, of his peace of conscience, and love of God; and you saw him half-murdering his servants; you know that his dependent is naked, without food, houseless and miserable; *do you believe him?* You are a Deacon! You converse with a Professor: he assures you, that he endeavors to obtain heavenly

bliss, conformably to the example of the Friend of Sinners ; but you are certified that as a Magistrate, he swears, " all men are born free," and nevertheless, detains his Christian brother in slavery : no man can credit such absurd contradictions. You are an Exhorter : you are at a Prayer Meeting : you ask your friends to engage in the exercises ; they plead for the mercy, pardon, love, benevolence, and approbation of God, because they manifest those affections in their intercourse with men, and notwithstanding hold slaves ! can you subjoin an AMEN to such hypocrisy ?

✓ You are an Elder : you avow before the Church and the World that you believe the Book which condemns *Slave-holding* or *Man-stealing* as the utmost iniquity ; and yourself unmercifully lacerate colored women in the last state of pregnancy ; or *tan* the servants whom you have flayed with salt, pepper and vinegar ? Who can place the smallest confidence in you ?

You are a Preacher : you have the Book as your light ; and the Book as your sole remuneration. That Book informs you, that slavery is the acme of all unrighteousness ; you are a Slave-holder ! that Book teaches you, that the worst of all sinners is the Church-Officer who engages in the iniquity which he ought to reprove, or connives at the transgressor, whom he should admonish : Yet, you are either a Kidnapper or his Defender !

Longer to abet such inconsistency, to support such absurdity, or to continue in such guilt, must affix a death-warrant to the existence of the Church. It is absolutely impossible that religion can flourish among *Man-stealers*: and every mode except an immediate expulsion of obdurate Flesh-Dealers from the professed family of Christians, is a sanction of the crime, and a stigma on the BOOK. ✓

Remember, Church-Officers, your awful responsibility: with the illumination of the sacred volume around you, can you rest in peace, with the conviction, that men are deluded, and you enlighten them not: can you risk the scrutiny of the bar of God, with the condemnation of impenitent Slave-holders transferred to your negligence and intimidation; who can calmly assert, or who himself believes, that Slavery is either equitable, merciful, or devotional; who *dare* to profess himself a Presbyterian or a Methodist and be connected in any form with man-stealing? Slave-Drivers sow to the Flesh; of the Flesh they reap corruption. Will you venture your everlasting felicity, upon a *perhaps*; upon an unfounded hope that so many have not been deceived; when that *perhaps*, that *hope* are both declared by the Book, to originate in idolatry, to exist through deceitfulness, and to end in Tophet?

You procrastinate—the enemy of souls urges you to cry *to-morrow*;—he advises the adop-

tion of *prudent and moderate reform*; knowing that such amendment insures him more certain conquest: he excites dread, by the menace of worldly displeasure, and the varied reproaches and privations which accompany it: you listen, you assent to the seduction, and the evil augments. The duration of all terrestrial vanities hastens to its close: in the result, you are individually interested; who can calmly anticipate righteous retribution upon the basis of man-stealing? who can peacefully contemplate the exchange of worlds, with the never-ceasing horrors of domestic oppressions unexpiated? who can fearlessly await the judgment of the Son of Man with the diversified iniquity and hard-heartedness of slavery recorded against him?

✓ Christians! How long will you tacitly or openly sanction, or actually engage in a system which includes every practicable iniquity? Can you conscientiously believe, that a slaveholder exhibits that assimilation to the meek and lowly Jesus, which is indispensable to an enjoyment of the inheritance of the Saints in light? Are you prepared to answer all the demands, which equity may propound at the final examination of the last great day, when the enormities of slavery are weighed in the balance of the Judge? If so, *persevere*—but if not—be alarmed, and *instantaneously desist* from all participation in this ungodliness.

The doctrine which our Lord inculcates, in his narrative of the wondrous events that will occur on the day of our resurrection; is tremendous condemnation to the merciless and the unjust. Every gospel affection is totally extinguished, by the principles whence slavery flows, by the tempers which are its inseparable companion, and by the dispositions which it invariably engenders. The approbation which the Son of Man will express of all those who exemplified Christian philanthropy in their intercourse with their fellow-creatures, as strongly argues the reprobation which Oppressors may expect, as if they had already heard the awful irrevocable denunciation, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels." Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, pluck out the right eye, cut off the right hand, and amputate the right foot; though thy ~~claves~~ ^{claves} be equally precious as these necessary corporeal members, ~~cut~~ ^{amputate} them. It is more profitable to thee, to pass through life in penury and scorn, and at death, to enter the Paradise of the Blessed, than to enjoy all earthly good, and at thy mortal dissolution, to be plunged into the abyss of wo—*where their worm dieth not—and the fire is not quenched.*

✓

POSTSCRIPT.



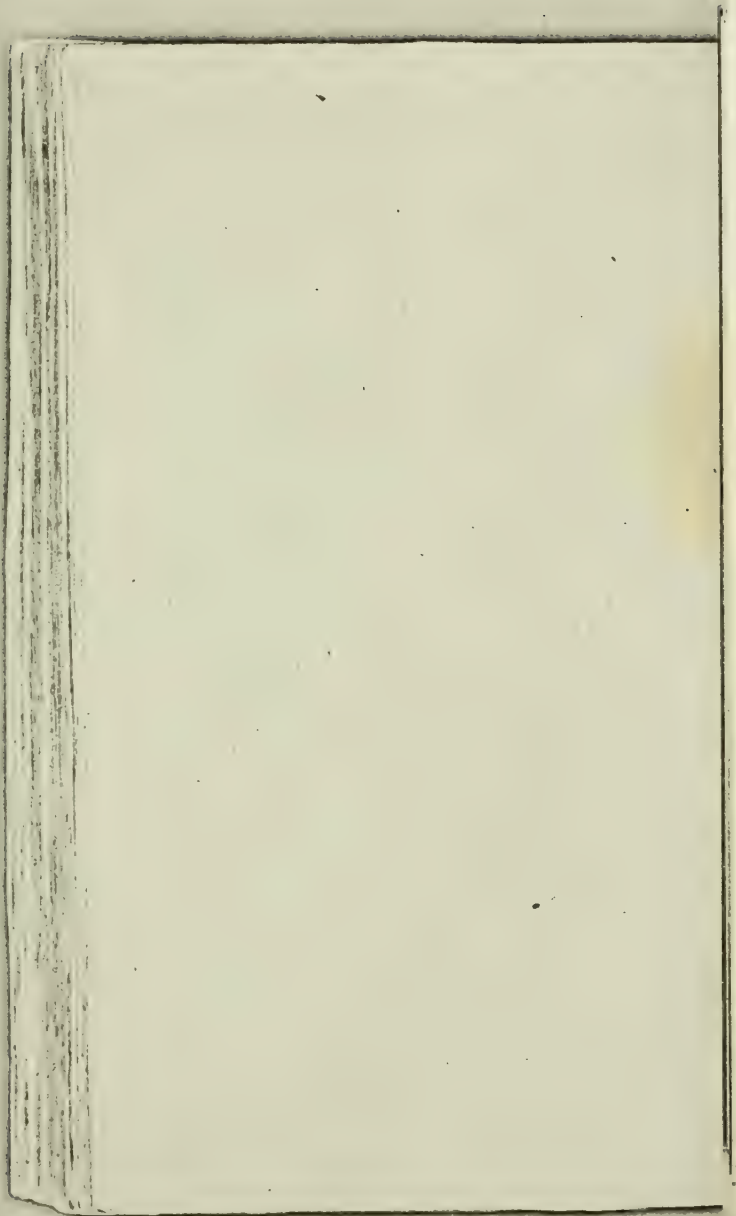
THE animadversions upon Tucker's Blackstone, are omitted. Our kingdom is not of this world, and——

The papers referred to, on Page 21, were by request expunged.

BOOK OF STRIFE!

GO FORTH: SLAY, BY THE TWO-EDGED SWORD, ALL THE UNCIRCUMCISED PHILISTINES: AND MAY THY LIGHT CONVICT THE CHILDREN OF MAMMON!

September 6. 1815.



ANIMADVERSIONS.

THE authority of titled names should never impede the censures of truth : and the sanction which is given by them to error, ought ever to excite the more resolute opposition of those *who contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints*. "Lectures on the subjects of Moral and Political Philosophy, by Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. L. L. D. are peculiarly deserving attention ; as the doctrines advanced in them, uphold involuntary servitude.

"Is Slavery on any ground consistent with the natural laws of justice and humanity ? Slavery is *contrary* both to justice and humanity. The whole of the African trade for slaves, is among the most atrocious inroads upon justice and humanity which have ever been practised in any age or by any nation. The hypocritical pretences which are made to justify it are as impudent, as the traffic is inhuman. Men deceive themselves continually by false pretences, in order to justify the slavery which is convenient for them.

Is that slavery which was unjust in its *origin*, equally unjust in its *continuance* ? All men condemn the barbarity of dragging the simple Africans from their native country.

To confer on our American slaves, liberty ; and otherwise, to meliorate their condition, are certainly objects worthy of a humane legislation. But private justice,* and natural selfishness will oppose insuperable difficulties to its execution. The citizens of these states hold *property* in slaves to a very large amount, acquired under the sanction of the laws. The laws could not equitably compel them to make a sacrifice of so great value, to the convenience and comfort of

* *Either the Philosopher or the Printer omitted two letters of this word, it should read, injustice.*

any class of men.† Neither justice nor humanity requires that the master who has become the *innocent* possessor of that property, should impoverish himself for the benefit of his slave. Their freedom might be obtained, by the laws favoring the grant of a *peculium* to slaves to be employed wholly for their own benefit, which might be sufficient to produce a revenue, adequate to the purchase of his own freedom. So *mild* is the form of slavery at present, that it is customary to exact of any field-slave only a definite portion of labour in the day, called a *Task*. This task is usually calculated according to the strength of the weakest hand. What an admirable opportunity, with other portions of time which are already allowed them, for relaxation and amusement, to improve a *peculium*? ‡

Slavery is preparing at some future period, much individual misery, and frequent and dangerous convulsions for the republic. It is a volcano which sleeps for a time only to burst at last upon the unsuspecting tranquility of the country with a more terrible destruction.*

“ I have generally witnessed a *humane* treatment exercised towards that dependent and humiliated race of men. The negro in America is condemned to the drudgery of perpetual labor, cut off from every means of improvement, conscious of his degraded state, in the midst of freemen who regard him with contempt, made to feel his inferiority, and hopeless, of ever enjoying any great melioration of his condition. How few are the negros who are enabled either to read or write! What society can subsist between a master and a slave? What would there be in that society,

† *Is this preaching deliverance to the captive?*

‡ *The Students at Nassau, from the Southern States, when they heard the Lecturer thus gravely delineate their Negro-quarters, must certainly have been convulsed with laughter.*

* *Smith's Moral and Political Philosophy. Lecture 21.*

when we consider the general characters, occupations and conversations of those masters favorable to improvement? Among the blacks is misery enough. With what fine tints can imagination invest the rags, the dirt, the nakedness so often seen in a quarter of Negro-laborers, or the coarse familiarity and promiscuous intercourse permitted and encouraged among the American slaves?" *

Humanity! Endless toil, no instruction, wretched degradation without hope of change, misery, nakedness, filth and libidinous desires uncontrolled, under the tyranny of masters with little higher moral advantages. Slavery is the utmost atrocity and misery; inequitable in its origin, but righteous and innocent in its prolongation. Though Christianity necessarily abolishes the system, and though all its defence is impudent hypocrisy, yet it is unjust, and inhuman to emancipate the slaves. †

Dr Smith's general proposition is undeniable. Slavery is the utmost injustice. Every affectionate Parent would rather be divested of his terrestrial wealth, than be deprived of his children, who must immediately be condemned to eternal vassalage. This kidnapping comprises every inhumanity: and the act involves

* *Smith on the human Species.*

† *When William Wilberforce first proposed the abolition of the Slave-trade and through all the subsequent discussions, Charles James Fox opposed the odious traffic for its injustice and cruelty; and entertaining a deep sense of its unrighteousness, he uniformly contended, that no political necessity, or any consideration of private benefit, could justify its continuance for one moment. "Were it practicable to divest servitude of its severities; still as this execrable slavery violates the rights and compels the submission of its victims, it can be sanctioned by no country which regards the maxims of a policy pure, liberal, and magnanimous."*

equal criminality in the perpetrator, with the misery of the victim. The Philosopher should either have closed his lecture with this position, or continued it in conformity with self-evident truth. But he intimates, that the iniquity of slavery has been removed by the protraction of the crime, and the increase of the offenders. The *grave* manner in which the inquiry is propounded, "is that slavery which was unjust in its *origin*, equally unjust in its *continuance*?" must have been intended as an ironical refutation of slave-dealers. Can an atrocious crime be transformed either in its nature or guilt, after the lapse of two centuries, or by a difference in the place where it was committed?

Man-stealing has existed from the period in which *Nimrod* who was a mighty hunter lived. After the lapse of ages, Moses denounced the sentence of death upon every one who *stealeth, or selleth, or makes merchandize of his brother*, or "detains him in slavery." Thirty three hundred years have since expired; and the additional sanctions of the Gospel to the ancient law have been promulgated. Is that *man-theft* which was condemned from Mount Sinai, at this era, equally disgusting and unrighteous? The *Kidnapper*, says the Moralist, is become the innocent possessor of that property:" which was stolen. Thus, antiquity of origin and continuance in the practice, would transform the basest turpitude into the noblest virtue; for, although the Lecturer avows, that the original robbery of the Negroes was "the most atrocious inroad upon justice and humanity ever practised," he also affirms, that a modern Slave-holder has innocently acquired, and righteously, beneficently detains his fellow-immortals in the most ignominious, oppression and cruel bondage.

Dr. Smith exemplifies the difficulties, which a man must surmount, who endeavours to combine truth with error, and rectitude of principle with corruption of practice. A descendant of the stolen Negroes cannot be enslaved with greater equity and benevolence than

his ancestors ; and it is the very acme of delusion, to assert, that "the form of slavery at present is *mild*, or that a *humane treatment* is exercised towards the coloured people. Evangelical philanthropy is as far removed from the daily exhibitions of *Slave-Dealers*, as Lazarus in Abraham's bosom is separated from Dives in Hell : by a *great gulf fixed*. Some few servants who perform the domestic duties are tolerably fed and decently clothed ; but this indulgence is merely for ostentation like the household ornaments, and for a deception upon visitors. To ascertain the Slave's real character and overwhelming wretchedness, "the rags, dirt, nakedness, coarse familiarity and promiscuous intercourse of the Negro-quarter" must be investigated : and the most transitory inspection evinces, that "the admirable opportunity to improve a peculium" is "the drudgery of perpetual labour ;" the "humane treatment," is the mortification of contempt, the sensation of inferiority, and despair of amendment : the *mildness* of slavery is the deprivation of knowledge, and the lacerations of the scourge ; and the beneficence of the *Slave-Driver* is the extinction of his captive's comfort, the insufficient and often unwholesome food which is allotted him, the withholding necessary raiment, domestic requisites, even an unhealthy hovel, and the constant dread of a separation from his associates, endeared to him by a mutual participation in similar misery.

Dr. Smith's *Morals and Politics* are equally extraordinary. All history corroborates the truth, that more danger attaches to the Union from the internal than from any external foes. The increase of slaves, *articles of merchandize*, is by every means facilitated, as it adds to the property of the kidnapper. What an heinous transgression against God and Man ! Mercenary, avaricious oppressors are authorized to steal the child from its Mother's breast for endless servitude. What a libel on the Republic ! That from any motive, such an atrocious crime, for one moment, should be per-

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mitted with impunity. What a burlesque ! Philosophy seriously declares ; that a man who has kidnapped all the coloured persons on his plantation, "has become the innocent possessor of that *property*."

Their numbers and strength augment ; a sense of their power is also more *deep-rooted*, and permanent ; ere long the day of deliverance for them must arrive. Their motto, "*peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.*" "*Let my people go ;*" was the demand of Moses, until the Red-Sea received the Tyrants who had oppressed the children of Israel. Slave-holders are neither in their devotional nor beneficent characteristics, much superior to the Egyptian *Task Masters* : They are pre-eminent for infidelity, irreligion, dissipation, and insensibility to the misery which their avarice and luxury generate

The voice of our Brother's blood cries to Heaven from the ground ; and national reformation or national punishment, cannot be far removed

We are sometimes to consider a nation in a moral light, as a person, consisting of a body, a soul and a duration of life. All the people who compose this nation are considered as one body : the maxims which direct its conduct, constitute its spirit. The ages of its continuance are the duration of its life. On this principle, we attribute to those who compose a nation now, what agrees with those only who formerly composed it ; and to this whole body, not only those physical, but even those moral actions, which belong only to one part of it : and that part of a nation which continues, is responsible for the crimes of that which subsists no more. Our Saviour considers a nation as a moral person, who is responsible at one time for crimes committed at another, who hath been borne with, but hath abused that forbearance, and at length, is punished both for committing the crimes, and for abusing the forbearance that had been granted.*

¹ *Matthew 23. 29, 30. Luke 11. 47—51.*

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“ If that part of a nation which subsists in one period. hath no union of time with that which subsisted in another period, it may have even four different unions of another kind. An union of *interest*, if it avail itself of the crimes of its predecessors ; an union of *approbation*, if it applaud the shameful causes of its prosperity ; an union of *emulation*, if it follow such examples as ought to be detested ; and an union of *accumulation*, if instead of making amend for these faults, it reward the depravity of those who commit them. If men peaceably enjoy the usurpations of their ancestors, they are usurpers, as their predecessors were, and the justice of God may make these responsible for the usurpations of those ; and thus it will be ; if you avail yourselves of the crimes of your predecessors, if you extenuate the guilt, if you imitate the practice, and if you fill up the measure of their iniquities. The prosperity of public bodies, when it is founded in iniquity, is an edifice, which with its basis will be presently sunk and gone. †

“ The trade in human flesh is so scandalous, that it is to the last degree infamous to suffer it to be carried on by the authority of the government of any country. With regard to a regulation of slavery, my detestation of its existence induces me to know no such thing as a regulation of robbery and a restriction of murder. There is no medium, the legislature must either abolish it, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it is attended.” ‡

“ Have the recorded enormities of slavery excited due compunction in the national conscience ? Its evils and iniquity we have seen, we have professed to lament them ; we have promised to forsake them. But what has been the result ? We cherish slavery ; we hug it to our bosoms ; and we think to sanction the foul embrace by pleading interest in opposition to the un-

† Saurin.

‡ Charles James Fox.

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sophisticated dictates of conscience, and the express and unequivocal commands of God. What is this but a deliberate rejection of the divine authority, and a deliberate preference of the service of Mammon to that of God? And whatever guilt arises from this source is properly, strictly and undeniably national" ‡

Dr. Smith asserts, that all the pretences to justify slavery are *impudent hypocrisy*, only equalled by the inhumanity of the traffic. If the Slave-holder offers one plea except the broad defence of open shameless depravity; if he make a solitary excuse distinct from the inordinate love of wealth; all his equivocations are the summit of boundless dissimulation: and "if a Church-Officer were a follower of Paul the aged, he would address such a man, especially if he seeks to turn away others from the faith; *O full of all subtilty, and all mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?*" *

Dr. Smith affirms, that the Slave-holder innocently possesses his property; that justice, humanity and compassion require not the manumission of slaves,† that a free people would not suffer a Legislature thus to dispose of any other portion of their property, and that the public safety necessarily prevents a speedy accomplishment of the emancipation of the coloured population, an event so desirable to humanity.

How can a Christian possess that which he knew was stolen? He who would *gravely* profess, that a slave is *honest property*, is a subject for the lunatic Hospital, not for moral discipline? How can a Phi-

‡ *Christian Observer.*

* Acts 13. 6—12.

† *Against such, "moral philosophy;" he whose blood does not boil with Christian indignation, is so far from being a disciple of that Jesus who pronounced his hypocritical Auditors a generation of vipers, that he ought not to be denominated, man.*

philosopher inculcate that Slavery is the most atrocious injustice, inhumanity and misery, and notwithstanding declare, that he who has kidnapped his servants, is not bound, by justice and humanity to impoverish himself for his Slave? How dare an Expositor of the Book sanction the detention of men in Slavery?

"What free people would allow their Legislature to dispose in the same manner, of any other portion of their property?" But *Negros or their descendants never could be property.* A free people and hold slaves? Republicans, and traffic their fellow-creatures! Democrats, and enslave those who are born with natural, inherent and inalienable rights! and *Christians all!*—NO: such persons are enemies of the Republic, humanity, religion and God.

Dr. Smith avers, that it is unjust, inhuman and impracticable to emancipate the slaves: but the Lecture's equity and benevolence are totally indescribable. Theft is atrocious in Africa, but in America, it is innocent. Kidnapping is the most diabolical barbarity on the Gold Coast, but in Columbia, it is cruel to impede persons from perpetrating this enormity. "To impoverish himself for the benefit of his slave! but this is not a case of charity. The slave was originally stolen; all the produce of his labour except the most wretched and meagre fare and clothing has been purloined; and the services of his children which ought to have been benefited and requited the Parent's care, have only added to a Thief's riches. The wealth of every Slave-holder in the World is as obviously, an unjust acquisition, as if he had entered a Bank and escaped with a load of its notes: alas! the latter and the inferior sin is punished, and a most enormous crime which virtually includes the direct and simultaneous transgression of the whole decalogue is legalized and rewarded; men being honorable in proportion to the magnitude of their robberies.

Shall interest affect our person only? Which is most unjust, to manumit a slave unrighteously doomed

and detained for servitude, or to sanction the endless deprivation of all his hopes and enjoyment? Which is most inhuman? To authorize the union of families and relations, or to sever them in eternal separation? Is not the plea, that emancipation is impracticable, the most impudent hypocrisy, and the most glaring absurdity ever propounded for contemplation? Covetous men will not adopt the measure, but were every Slave-holder impressively certified of the iniquity and danger of his oppressions; were he sensible that exclusion from heaven would attend a life and death in impenitence, after evangelical illumination had developed his guilt and its consequences; were he convinced that the day of retribution would unfold for him horrors inconceivable and everlasting; and did he realize equal conscientious smiting upon this sin, which he has experienced upon other transgressions; the Jubilee trumpet would soon proclaim universal deliverance to the captive. Can any suppositious expediency, any dread of political disorder, or any private advantage, justify the prolongation of corruption, the enormity of which is unequalled, or repel the holy claim to its extinction? The system is so entirely corrupt, that it admits of no cure, but by a total and immediate abolition. For a gradual emancipation is a virtual recognition of the right, and establishes the rectitude of the practice. If it be just for one moment, it is hallowed for ever; and if it be inequitable, not a day should it be tolerated.

No excuses for turpitude, no defence of crime can possibly be valid. For creatures under the government of divine Revelation, the question what is most politic, ought never to be asked; but what is our duty? No man can derive any self-justification from the apology, that the sin is strictly chargeable upon the nation, and that individuals are not inculcated in the guilt; for "national regard to the externals of religion cannot avert national judgments, so long as

murder and cruel oppression, are sanctioned by law, or permitted to be perpetrated with impunity." †

Dr. Smith is a lucid demonstration of Apostolic truth: *evil communications corrupt good manners*. The most inflexible opponent of *Man-stealing*, by a long residence among Slave-Holders, although he never actually participated in the traffic of souls, experiences a torpor of indignation, an insensibility to human woe, a deadness of evangelical philanthropy, and a diminution of his high sense of moral rectitude, which, were he to enter into a minute and sedulous investigation of his former conscientiousness, contrasted with his present indifference, reminds him of the indignant reply; *What! is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing? force the mortifying lamentation; Against thee have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight! and impel the melancholy prayer, Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation; then shall I be innocent from the great transgression!*

Dr. Smith's natural feelings revolt from slavery; but by vindicating its adherents, he has involved himself in a labyrinth; from which by no ingenuity, can he be extricated. What more preposterous! an American Republican, who boasts of his freedom, *driving slaves*. What more injurious! A Philosopher, inculcating that the most atrocious inroad upon justice and humanity on the coast of Africa, is mildness, equity and benevolence; in the interior of Columbia. What more contradictory! a Christian Minister's "*Moral Philosophy*," confuting the *self-evident* verities of his own Confession of Faith! This inconsistency originates in *that fear of man which bringeth a snare*. *Know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God: whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God* Such a profession of the Gospel as gives no offence to a

† Scott.

world that lieth in wickedness, will leave a man to perish with the enemies of Christ '†

Dr. Smith's palliations are inefficient. No sophistry can disguise the principle which he insinuates, the innocence of the present Slave-holder—the justice of his claim to the slaves, and the benignity with which they are maintained. The Professor's facts are as unaccountable as his morals and politics—in what section of the Union—all that *humanity, mildness, relaxation and amusements*, but which he himself graphically defines to be the drudgery of perpetual labour, ignorance, bestiality and despair—are discernible, not only defies the researches of Philosophy, but the discoveries of Geography. If they are circumscribed by any department of literature, it is within the Astronomer's circle:—*LUNAR observations*. In direct unequivocal contradiction to Dr. Smith's Philosophy; we assert; that no Slave-holder is innocent; that he is an unjust, cruel, criminal Kidnapper, who is guilty of the most atrocious transgression against God and Man: that it is the most infatuated delusion for such men to believe, or the most impudent hypocrisy in them to profess themselves innocent, that whole counties may be traversed in which comparatively few persons can be traced, who distribute as many comforts or as much care to their slaves as their horses; that the general management of the slave is a complication of indescribable barbarity: that Christian Professors are not exempt from the enormity of the crime, or the application of the charge; and every *Man-stealer* is *DARKEN* *either to refute the doctrine or to disprove the accusation.*

† Scott.

FINIS.

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